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THE JOURNAL

OF

CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

VOL. II.

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# THE JOURNAL

OF

## CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

### I.

#### *On the probable Connexion of the Rhaetians and Etruscans with the Thracian stock of nations.*

THE country known by the name of Thrace formed but a very small portion of the regions over which the Thracian race was once spread. For the Thracians, taking the name in its widest sense, were not merely the inhabitants of a single district or country, but were, like the Celts and Germans, one of the great families of nations, in each of which many tribes and peoples were comprised<sup>1</sup>. Their importance in ancient times is satisfactorily established. The Thracians are spoken of by Herodotus as being, next to the Indians, the greatest nation in existence; that is to say, the most important nation in respect of numbers with which he was acquainted, the Indians only excepted<sup>2</sup>. Several branches of this family were established in the modern Anatolia, all the ancient peoples in Asia Minor to the west of the Halys being of kindred race with one another, and with the proper Thracians<sup>3</sup>. With respect to each of these peoples, the relationship to the Thracians is beyond a doubt. Between the Mysians, Lydians, and Carians, a certain degree of brotherhood was known to exist<sup>4</sup>; and the Mysians and Mœsians, in Europe and Asia, are mentioned by Strabo as being Thracians<sup>5</sup>. The Bithynians,

<sup>1</sup> Grimm (*Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 6. Ed. 1853) divides the European nations into ten races: Iberians, Celts, Romans, Greeks, Thracians, Germans, Lithuanians, Slavonians, Fins, and Scythians.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Grote, *Hist. Greece*, III. p. 277.

<sup>4</sup> Grote, III. p. 277. 'The Carians

looked upon the Lydians as a kindred race, and acknowledged Lydus as the brother of Car, as well as of Mysus.' Thirlwall, *Hist. Greece*, II. c. 13. The Lydians appear to have been a Thracian tribe, who conquered the Mæonians, probably Pelasgians, the earlier inhabitants of Lydia.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 3.



Mariandynians, and Paphlagonians, were all recognized branches of the Thracian stock<sup>1</sup>. Indeed the Bithynians are spoken of as Asiatic Thracians; while several tribes among the Thracians of Europe were called Thyni or Thynians<sup>2</sup>. The Phrygians also were of Thracian origin. According to Strabo, they were identical with the Briges, a Thracian people<sup>3</sup>; and they were supposed not to have passed into Asia till after the destruction of Troy<sup>4</sup>. The affinity of the proper Thracians and the Phrygians was further evinced by the analogy observable between the two nations in respect of music and religion<sup>5</sup>. We thus find that all Asia Minor, as far as Mount Taurus and the Halys, with the exception of the Greek colonies, and perhaps of some remnants of earlier nations, such as the Pelasgians, was occupied by nations of Thracian race, who had in all probability emigrated from Europe.

It is however in Europe that we find the Thracians most widely spread. Not only did they possess the country usually called Thrace, but under the names of Mæsiens, Dacians, and Getæ, occupied the whole district between the Hæmus and the Carpathians. "Thus the Thracians extended not only from the Ægean to the Ister, and from the Bosphorus to the Strymon, but, before the Gallic immigration, in the interior as far as Croatia; so that Servia, Bosnia, and Slavonia belonged to them; and on the north of the Danube, the whole extent of country which was afterwards called Dacia, was occupied by Thracians<sup>6</sup>." Yet even this extent of territory, wide as it is, formed probably but a part of the regions which were peopled by the Thracians in very remote times. "How much farther," says Niebuhr<sup>7</sup>, "may not the Thracians have extended over the north-western countries, before the time when the Illyrians penetrated into those countries from the north, and drove the Liburnian race from its seats? I have no doubt that they did extend much farther, but the limits cannot be determined, for these things lie beyond the reach of history." It is, however, unnecessary to ground merely upon conjecture the theory of the ancient extension of the Thracian

<sup>1</sup> Grote, III. p. 278. Strabo, Lib. vii. cap. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Grote, III. p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, Lib. vii. cap. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Grote, III. 279.

<sup>5</sup> Grote, III. 286. See also Strabo, Lib. x. *Dissertation on the Curdetes*.

<sup>6</sup> Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, Schmitz's transl. p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> *Lectures on Ancient History*, p. 142.



race to the west of Dacia. We shall find reasons of considerable weight for supposing that the early population of Pannonia and Noricum, before the Gallic invasion, was derived from the Thracian stock. For the inhabitants, or at least the Gallic inhabitants, of Noricum and Pannonia, were included under the denominations of Boii, Taurisci, and Scordisci. The Boii occupied the northern districts of these countries, where their name appears in the town of *Boiodurum* and in the *Deserta Boiorum*. The Taurisci, mentioned by Strabo as a branch of the Norici, and identified by Pliny with the Norici, dwelt (Plin. III. 24, 29) on the banks of the Drave, from its source on the Rhetian frontier, as far, or nearly as far, as its confluence with the Danube. The Scordisci occupied the part of Pannonia watered by the Save, and probably extended into Illyricum and Mæsia. But these three nations, who seem thus to have been spread over the whole extent of Noricum and Pannonia, are expressly said by Strabo (VII. 3) to have been mixed with Thracians<sup>1</sup>, a race which would, in all probability, have preceded the Gauls as settlers<sup>2</sup>. This conclusion agrees extremely well with the

<sup>1</sup> The population of the eastern Alps, and the countries bordering on them, seems to have been of a very mixed character. Thus the Breuni and Genauni in Rhetia were Illyrian tribes. The Istrians and Liburnians were sometimes considered to be Illyrians, and sometimes denied to be so (Grote, IV. 1). Another authority describes the Istrians as a nation of Thracian race (Cramer's *Italy*, I. 135). The Gallic Scordisci, again, are by Florus (III. 4) called Thracians, a race with which we know, from Strabo, that they were mixed. Illyrians, Gauls, and Thracians would have been much intermingled in these countries. Of these three nations, the Gauls would have been the latest settlers: but it seems very doubtful which of the two nations, the Thracians and the Illyrians, preceded the other. Niebuhr considers that the Thracians were the earliest settlers, and that the Illyrians came upon them from the north, and conquered the country as far as the district to which their name

was attached. It may, however, seem as probable, that the Illyrians preceded the Thracians, and that the Thracian migration from the east cut off the Breuni and Genauni from their kindred tribes. As the Venetians are classed among the Illyrians, and as the Rhetians and Etruscans were probably, as we shall endeavour to shew, Thracians; it is perhaps most reasonable to conjecture that the Illyrians, who are found in a body on the Adriatic, within, or to the south of, the Thracian stream of migration, were the predecessors of the Thracians in these parts. In what ethnical relation the Illyrians stood to the Thracians there would probably be no evidence to determine with any approach to certainty.

<sup>2</sup> It is rather remarkable that the word Noricum (*Νώρικον*) is Phrygian, i. e. Thracian. "Plutarchus flumin. p. 51. (s. v. Marsyas): *νόρικον οἱ Φρύγες τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσιν*. Eustathius Dionys. 321: *τινὲς ἱστοροῦσιν, ὅτι νώρικον οἱ Φρύγες τὸν ἄσκον καλοῦσι*

extension which Strabo assigns to the Getæ. For this branch of the Thracians, according to Strabo, bordered on the Suevi, and extended as far as the Hercynian forest, a part of which

τῇ σφετέρῃ διαλέκτῳ." Bötticher's *Arica*, p. 38. It is perhaps not readily conceivable, how a word signifying *δόκος* can be applied to a tract of country. The coincidence of the names is however so singular, that a conjecture may be hazarded. The word *δόκος* seems certainly connected with the Latin *vas* and *vasculum*, and with adjective *vascus*, 'hollow.' The fundamental idea contained in the word *νόρικον* may thus, it is possible, have been that of 'hollowness.' Now, with the Latin *vascus* and *vacuus*, the word *vallis* seems connected. In like manner we have in Greek words derived from *κοῖλος*, such as *κοιλίς* and *κοίλωμα*, signifying 'a valley.' We find also that the valley between Libanus and Anti-Libanus was called *Κολη Συπλά*. It is, besides, exceedingly common to find valleys, or districts enclosed by mountains, called by the names of vessels: e.g. Germ. *Kessel*, (as in the case of Bohemia;) Eng. *basin*; and, in the Pyrenees, *oule*, a corruption of *olla*. The French, again, frequently speak of valleys as being *évasées*. It is, however, in the Welsh, that the connexion of ideas which is sought to be established may be most perfectly traced. There we have *cw*, 'a concavity;' *cwb*, 'a cup-like form;' *ried*, 'a bag,' 'a sack,' 'a pouch' (*δόκος*); *cwm*, 'a hollow,' 'a place between hills,' 'a dingle or deep valley' (*vallis*;) and *cwmman*, 'a large wooden vessel,' 'a tub.' It seems not improbable that from some Latin root such as *va*, corresponding to the Welsh *cw*, we may derive in a similar manner the words *vas*, *vanus*, *vacuus*, *vascus*, *vasculum*, *vallo*, and *vallis*; nor is it impossible that in other languages, such as the Phrygian or Thracian, a similar collection of words, of which *νόρικον* (= *δόκος*) was one, might have existed, and that another of these words, or perhaps the same, corresponded to

the Welsh *cwm* and the Latin *vallis*. Indeed, if we suppose that the English *comb* or *coomb*, a certain measure of capacity, is derived from the Welsh *cuman*, and not, according to the common etymology, from the Latin *cumulus*, and that consequently *comb*, in its primitive signification, denotes some particular kind of vessel; we should then have, in our own language, as *comb* or *combe* also signifies a valley, a word possessing the two meanings which we suppose may have possibly been attached to the Phrygian *νόρικον*. We may also mention as an additional instance supplied by another language, that Dante (*Inf. cant. xviii. et seq.*) uses the words *valle* and *bolgia* (properly a 'bag' or 'pouch,' = *borsa*, Span. *bolsa*) as synonymous terms. Assuming this conjectural meaning of the word *νόρικον* or *noricum* to be correct, then the name of this Alpine district would be analogous to the names of two other Alpine districts, the 'Vallais' and the 'Pays Vaudois,' while *Norici* would signify 'Vaudois' or 'Vallaisans.' *Noricum Mediterraneum* does in fact consist chiefly of one great valley, that of the Drave. This may have been the original 'Vallais,' whence the name might have been extended, as in the case of Cœle-Syria, to the adjoining country.

There was, besides, in Phrygia, a city called *Noricum*, (Plutarchus flamin. s. v. Marsyas) but this city is said to have been so called on account of its containing the *νόρικον* (al. *νόρικον*) or vessel, in which the remains of Satyrus were deposited. In the country called *Noricum* there was also a place called *Noreia* or *Noricia*, from which the name of the country might have been derived. Yet *Noreia* or *Noricia* may be merely a name like *Laval*. There is a village called *Noriglio* near Roveredo in the Tyrol.

they even occupied; an assertion which, if exact, would cause Moravia and Bohemia to be included in the Getic territory. Perhaps, before the invasion of the Marcomanni and Quadi, these countries were, like the countries on the other side of the Danube, partly occupied by Celtic, and partly by Thracian tribes. Combining this result with the conclusion previously drawn as to the early population of Pannonia and Noricum, we should find that not only all the modern Hungary, but even all Austrian Germany north of the Save, the Tyrol excepted, was probably occupied at a remote period by Thracian tribes.

We have thus been enabled to trace the existence of a Thracian population as far as the frontiers of Rhætia, a country which we know to have been occupied by tribes of the same race as the Etruscans, but with respect to whose more general affinities history is silent. The following question now naturally arises. Was there at a remote period any separation of races on the common frontier of Rhætia and Noricum, or did the Thracian race extend still further to the west than we have traced them, and include the Rhætians also among their number? Now, as the Etruscans were not Gauls, and as the Gauls were the neighbours of the Rhætians on the west, it seems certain that there must have been a separation of races on that side of Rhætia. From this fact there arises a certain amount of probability in favour of the conjecture, that it is on the east of Rhætia, among the Thracians, that the kindred of the Rhætians should be sought. It is, indeed, possible, that the Rhætians might have come from the north or the south, from the plains of Bavaria or of Lombardy. Neither of these suppositions seems, however, very natural: the theory of a comparatively narrow band of population traversing the Alpine system, and perfectly distinct in origin from the mountaineers on either hand, must lie open to some objection. Neither would it be in accordance with Livy's account, from which we learn that not merely the Rhætians, but also some other Alpine nations, were of the same origin as the Etruscans. '*Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Rætis.*' (v. 33). From this statement we derive the conclusion, that the Rhætians were akin to some other of the Alpine tribes, a conclusion which considerably favours the idea of their belonging to the Thracian race. For the only races which we can find in the Alps are Ligurians,



Gauls, Rhætians, Thracians, and perhaps Illyrians. We should consequently be induced to consider the Rhætians as either Ligurians, Gauls, Thracians, or Illyrians. But as we may conclude that the Etruscans, and therefore the Rhætians, were neither Ligurians, Gauls, nor Illyrians, we have only the Thracian race left, to which to refer the Rhætians. Livy's expression '*marime* Rætis' falls in extremely well with the fact, that the population of Noricum was mixed, and that both Thracians and Gauls were there to be found together. The Etruscans would thus have had a closer affinity to the Rhætians than to the Noricans.

The supposition of an affinity between the Rhætians and the Thracians seems to derive some additional force from the similarity of their names. Nor is it merely in the names of the two nations that this similarity is to be remarked; for other resemblances to the word Rhætia, and also to the Etruscan term Rasena, are to be found among the Thracians. Before however proceeding to notice these resemblances, it must be observed, that the force of such coincidences is somewhat weakened by the fact, that the words Rhætia and Rasena seem derived from a root which may be found in many languages, not only Indo-Germanic, but also Semitic. If we investigate, as we shall proceed to do, the meaning of the word Rhætia, we shall easily perceive the wide prevalence of the root, from which it appears to be derived.

From our finding the name Rhætia applied to an Alpine district, coupled with the circumstance of a Rhetico Mons existing in Germany, and a Rhæteum Promontorium in Mysia, we easily infer that all these names contain a root expressing a property belonging to mountains. We have besides in Arabia Petræa, the 'rocky' or 'mountainous' Arabia, a people called Ratheni or Rhæteni. The word *ras*, again, signifies in Arabic a 'promontory,' and the same word is also given as a name to a promontory in Brittany, in which case the name is clearly allied to the Welsh *rhac*, 'what is in advance, forward, upper or opposite.' The common root in all these cases probably appears in the English *raise*, *rear*, *rise*, in the German *ragen*, *recht*, in the Latin *rectus*, *erigere*, *regere*, *rex*, in the Gothic *raisjan* (erheben), and finally in the Hebrew *rosh* 'a head, whatever is highest or supreme, a prince, the head or summit of a



mountain<sup>1</sup>. This last collection of meanings seems to leave but little doubt as to the fundamental idea expressed by this widely prevailing root, which we may call for convenience *ra* or *ras*. This fundamental idea must be that of 'height,' 'eminence,' or 'projection.'

We can now perceive how words derived from this root are applied to princes, mountains, and towns. For towns would very frequently have their origin in fortified heights, and would then derive their name from the circumstance of their position, just as we find the English *borough* derived from the German *burg* 'a fort', while *burg*, again, is connected with *berg*, 'a mountain.' We can thus account for such names of towns as *Ragæ*, *Ratæ*, *Resen*, *Rama*, &c. Indeed the Hebrew *Rama* signifies 'a height;' and we may conjecture that the name of Rome, with that of the *Ramnes*, who built the original *Roma* on the Palatine hill, is to be derived from a similar source. In such words as *rock* and *crag*, the root seems also to be involved, as well as in the Swiss *grät*, a mountain-ridge, and in several other words. The name 'Rhætia' will signify 'the Highlands,' 'das Oberland,' or 'the mountain-country;' and the appellation 'Rhætian' may be considered as perfectly identical in meaning with the Celtic 'Pennine,' a term derived from *pen* 'a head,' and applied, like 'Rhætian,' to one of the Alpine groups<sup>2</sup>.

From this almost universal prevalence of the root *ra*, it is clear that the force of coincidences in words where it appears will be necessarily weakened. Now several of the coincidences which will be noticed in the following pages are in words of this nature: and it has therefore been thought advisable to determine at the outset what force is to be attributed to them. As the words which involve this root may, however, readily be perceived, it will not be necessary continually to advert to the fact of the existence of such a root in the words cited. We now return to

<sup>1</sup> To these may be added the Sanskrit *ṛtu*, Zend *ratu*, dominus, magister; Armenian *retel*, gubernare, regere. See Bütticher's *Arica*, p. 88. The French frequently speak of mountains as 'dominant' the surrounding country.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the mountain-chain, the Rhätikon, dividing the Grisons

from the Tyrol and Lichtenstein, means simply the 'mountain-ridge' or the 'rocky ridge.' The old castle and rock of Hohen Rhätie, near Tüsis, is merely the 'high fort' or the 'high rock.' The names Rätzens and Realta are to be explained in the same manner.

notice what names occur among the Thracians akin to those of the Rhætians, or of the Etruscan Rasena.

Proceeding eastward from Rhætia into the districts occupied by branches of the Thracian race, the first coincidence we find is presented by the Dacian tribe, mentioned by Ptolemy, called Rhatacensii. They are generally placed in the Carpathians, being probably, as their name indicates, mountaineers. The town of Ratiaria on the Danube, and the Rhæteum Promontorium in Mysia, present two other instances of coincidence. In the names of Thracian princes there is also a resemblance to the name of the Rhætians, and to that of the Etruscan Rasena. Rhæteia is the name of the daughter of a Thracian king, and Rhascus and Rhascuporis, or Rhescuporis, are the names of Thracian chiefs. The name of the Thracian king Rhesus, to which the name Cræsus seems allied, is an additional instance<sup>1</sup>.

On these coincidences, however, not very much stress can be laid. More important is the fact, that we find mountains in the Grisons and the Tyrol called in the Rhæto-romansch dialects by names having an obvious and close affinity to the name of the Carpathian or Krapack mountains, and that those dialects supply the means of explaining the name of this chain, which has borne, without material alteration, the same appellation from the earliest times, and which may be regarded as a Dacian mountain-system. In the Grisons we have a mountain called Crap Alv, 'the white rock,' and in the Tyrol another called Creppa Rossa, 'the red rock.' *Crap*, in the dialects of the Grisons, is equivalent to the German *Stein*<sup>2</sup>; and the German *Felsen* is, in the dialect of the Grison Oberland, *gripp* or *grippa*; in the dialects of the Engadine,

<sup>1</sup> The word Rasena, as it involves the root *ra* or *ras*, may have two meanings; that of mountain-habitation, or that of sovereignty. In the first case, it would have the same meaning as Rhætians, i. e. 'mountaineers.' The second meaning, however, seems to be the true one. For the Rasena, according to Dionysius, derived their name from a certain prince of their nation. The historian consequently makes Rasena a proper name, and thus probably falls into an error very similar to that which was made in the case of the Etruscan title

Lucumo. It seems more likely that 'Rasena' signifies 'princes' generally, than that it was the name of a particular prince. For the Rasena, in fact, were the princely race, the aristocracy of Etruria, standing to the other inhabitants in a relation similar to that which the Spartans bore to the Lacedæmonians. There may, however, have been among the Etruscan princes, as there were among the Thracians, individuals in whose name the root *ra* or *ras* was contained.

<sup>2</sup> Carisch's *Rhæto-romansch Dict.*

*crippel*; in the Tyrolese Badiotisch dialect, *crepp*; and in the Tyrolese Grednerisch dialect, *creppes*<sup>1</sup>. We have also in the Grison dialects, *carpun*, *carpuigl*, and *crapun* 'grosser Stein,' *crapett*, 'kleiner Stein,' &c.

Not very many similar words are found in other parts than the Carpathians and the ancient Rhætia, to impair the force of these resemblances. We have, indeed, the Italian *greppo* 'a mountain-top,' which appears to be a kindred term to *crap*. The island *Carpatus* might probably have received its name from the Carians, a branch of the Thracians, and consequently a people having some degree of relationship to the Rhætians. Among other instances where similar names occur in different parts of the world, there may be cited, the *Carpasiæ Insulæ* lying off the coast of Cyprus, the tribe called *Carpetani* in Hispania, and the town called *Carpis* in the neighbourhood of Carthage. Some additional cases of resemblance in names might also be found. Still, notwithstanding such cases, and that the root *ra* seems involved, the coincidence with respect to the Carpathians and the Rhæto-romansch words and names of mountains must be allowed to be of some importance<sup>2</sup>.

We have just alluded above to the Rhæto-romansch dialects, from which, by a comparison of them with the relics of the Thracian languages, we now propose to deduce another description of evidence. These singular dialects are confined to two different districts of ancient Rhætia<sup>3</sup>,—to some parts, including altogether about one half, of the Swiss Canton of the Grisons, and to a small tract of country in the east of the Tyrol. There are comparatively but few words in Rhæto-romansch, which, however altered, may not be referred to the Latin or the German; but more especially, as the name Romansch implies, to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> A collection of names in Rhætia, Noricum, Thrace, &c. resembling each other, will be found in a note at the end of this article.

<sup>3</sup> It may be advisable to mention here the modern districts comprised in the ancient Rhætia. They are, very nearly, the following: (1) the Tyrol, including Vorarlberg, and excluding the upper part of the valley of the Drave

and the small valley of Kitzbühel; (2) the six Swiss Cantons of Tessin, the Grisons, Glarus, St Gall, Appenzell, and Thurgau; (3) the Lombard districts of the Bellunese, the Val Camonica, and the Valteline, including Chiavenna and Bormio; (4) the Piedmontese provinces of Ossola and Palanza, which compose the valley of the Tosa with its tributary lateral valleys.



Latin. Some few words, however, there exist, which appear to have an independent origin, and which probably represent the last remnants of the ancient language of the Rhætians. It is in the highest valleys of the Canton of the Grisons, and on the northern declivity of the main chain of the Alps, that the Rhæto-romansch is spoken. The Münsterthal, belonging to the basin of the Adige, is the only valley on the southern declivity of the Alps where such a dialect prevails. In the Zehngerichte Bund, and in the neighbourhood of Coire, (the village of Ems excepted) the language is German. The German language is also spoken in the districts of the Rheinwald, Avers, Savien, and Vals, the inhabitants of which are said, according to one account, to be the descendants of a Suabian colony planted by Frederick Barbarossa, but whose settlement is referred by other authorities to the time of the Ostrogothic invasion. In the valleys of Calanca, Misocco, Bregaglia, and Puschiamo, Italian dialects are spoken. In the rest of the Canton the Rhæto-romansch is the native tongue, and is divided into four, (sometimes only into three) principal dialects: (1) the Oberländisch, or dialect of the valley of the Fore Rhine: (2) the Unterengadinisch, the dialect of the Lower Engadine, or valley of the Inn: (3) the Oberengadinisch, the dialect of the Upper Engadine: and (4) the Oberhalbsteinisch, or dialect of the district of Oberhalbstein<sup>1</sup>, which is, however, not always distinguished from the Oberengadinisch, to which the dialect of the valley of Schams has also been referred. These are the Grison dialects: in the Tyrol there are two principal dialects. The first is the Grednerisch, or dialect of the Grednerthal; the second the Badiotisch, or dialect of the Gaderthal. These two contiguous valleys, which communicate with each other by an easy pass, lie among the dolomite mountains rising to the east of the high road between Brixen and Botzen. The Grednerthal opens from the east into the valley of the Eisach at Kollman; the Gaderthal from the south into the Pusterthal about two miles below Brunecken. No complete vocabularies of these Romansch dialects probably exist. The words which will be here cited are taken from Carisch's *Taschen-Wörterbuch der Rhätoromanischen Sprache in Graubünden, besonders der Ober-*

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the district 'above the defile,'  
*Stein* being used to signify 'a defile.'

The 'Stein' in this case is the defile so  
 called, immediately above Tiefenkasten.



*länder und Engadiner Dialekte, nach dem Oberländer zusammengestellt und etymologisch geordnet*, a title which sufficiently explains the scope of the work. Very few Tyrolese Romansch words are to be found in it; but it may be conjectured, judging from those that are given, that a complete collection of them might considerably increase the number of peculiarly Rhætian words; that is to say, of words which may be regarded as derived from the language of the ancient Rhætians, and not merely corrupted from the Latin, or borrowed from the German.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that an exceedingly small number of words has been preserved in the Thracian languages. Those which will be here brought forward, as seeming to bear to the Rhæto-romansch a closer affinity than to any other language, at least of Southern or Western Europe, are taken from Bötticher's *Arica*; a work in which are contained, together with the remains of other Aric languages, the scanty relics of the Thracian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Carian dialects. One case of resemblance which will be noticed, that of the Lydian *κανθαύλης* and the Rhæto-romansch *candarials*, seems very remarkable.

We now proceed to the comparison of the languages, beginning with the Thracian.

1. 'Eustathius, *Odyss.* XIX. 28: ὁ γράψας γέντα τὰ κρέα κατὰ γλώσσαν Θρακῶν ἔγραψεν.' *Arica*, p. 50.

*Giantar-er, jentar.* 2.<sup>1</sup> zu mittag essen. *giantar-er, m.* das Mittagessen, *n.* Mittagsmahlzeit.

There is probably also a connexion here with the Lat. *jento* and *jentaculum*.

2. 'Photius: ζεῖλα οἶνος. Hesychius: ζῖλαι ὁ οἶνος παρὰ Θραξί. sk. hâla vel hîluka.' *Arica*, p. 50.

'Scholiasta Apollonii Rhodii II. 946. Φιλοστέφανός φησιν· ἐπεὶ οἱ μέθυσοι σανάπαι λέγονται παρὰ Θραξίν (ἢ διαλέκτῳ χρώνται καὶ Ἀμαζόνες) κληθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. ἔπειτα κατὰ φθορὰν Σινώπῃ. ut e voce surâpa videmus, pî vel pâ in vocibus compositis fit pa. σανα nihil potest nisi vinum designare, vocem etiam persico σαννάκρα. I. 85. inesse arbitror.' *Arica*, p. 52.

'Athenæus XI. p. 497 E: σαννάκρα. Κράτης ἐν πέμπτῳ ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου ἔκπομά φησιν εἶναι οὕτως καλούμενον. ἔστι δὲ περσικόν.' *Arica*, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> The fig. 1, after a word, denotes that it is Oberländisch; 2, Unterengadinisch; 3, Oberengadinisch; the letter E, Engadinisch generally.

*Zaina, zena.* E. Glas. *zanin, zenin*, kleines Glas.—*vinars*, Gläschen Branntwein.

It may be observed here, that the Rhæto-romansch has two other words for 'glass,' *glas* and *veider*; so that *zaina* may possibly be more peculiarly appropriated to signify a glass for holding liquors.

3. 'Hesychius: θράττης ὁ λίθος ὑπὸ Θρακῶν.' *Arica*, p. 51.<sup>1</sup>

*Crap.* Stein. Coll. (i. e. Collectivum, Sammelname) *Crapa*, Steine. The Rhæto-romansch has no aspirate like *χ*. We find *χ* and *θ* sometimes interchanged, as in Carthage and Καρχηδών.

4. 'Scholiasta Apollonii Rhodii l. 933: Θράκες τὸν θησανρὸν πιτύγιν (hæc codicis P lectio præstat vulgatæ πιτύην) λέγουσιν.' *Arica*, p. 52.

*Pit* (Ez. 29, 19) Sold (veraltet).

Compare Goth: *skatts*, geld, with Germ: *schatz*, θησαυρός.

5. 'Hesychius: ῥομφαία θράκιον ἀμυντήριον, μάχαιρα ξίφος ἢ ἀκόντιον μακρόν. explicetur ex l. 57.' *Arica*, p. 52.

*Rampin.* E. Haken, Kniff.

*Rembel.* E. Pfahl, Prügel, Ruder.

There appears also a connexion here with the Lat. *ramus* and the Gr. ῥάβδος, ῥαμφή, ῥαμφίς, ῥάμφος. See also *Arica*, l. 57. p. 21.

6. 'Erotianus (in H. Stephani dictionario medico 1564. p. 42): πικερίῳ βουτύρῳ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φησιν, ὅτι Θόας ὁ ἰθακήσιος ἱστορεῖ παρὰ Φρυγί πικέριον καλεῖσθαι τὸ βούτυρον. radix pyâi pinguescere, suffixum idem quod in lat. ludicer sepulcrum pulcer . . . habemus.' *Arica*, p. 38.

*Piaun, pioun, painch.* E. Schmalz. Butter.

In Lithuanian, milk is called *piėnas*, in Lettish, *peens*. Grimm. *Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 695. In Persian and Armenian, *panir* signifies 'cheese.' *Arica*, p. 78.

7. 'Hesychius: ζέλκια λάχανα Φρύγες. russ. zelen.' serb. zlak vel zelic, lat. olus (Festus viii. p. 100: helus et helusa antiqui dicebant, quod nunc holus et holera). radix hꝛ unde harit viridis.

<sup>1</sup> As the feminine of Θράξ is Θράσσα or Θράττα, it seems possible that the name of the country of the Thracians may be derived from the native word θράττης. 'Thrace' would then signify the 'rocky' or 'mountainous' country. An ancient etymology derives Θράκη

from the Gr. τραχέα; which would give (as in the case of Κιλικία τραχέα) the same meaning to the name of the country as if it were derived from the native word θράττης. The Greek τραχὺς and the Thracian θράττης seem kindred words.

græce non modo χλόη sed etiam λάχανον convenit quod pro χάλανον dictum videtur.' *Arice*, p. 35.

*Checla*, (Münsterthal) Topf.

As the Lat. *olus* (= ζέλκια) is connected with *olla* (= *checla*), so we may conjecture it to be possible, that ζέλκια may have had a Phrygian word nearly resembling it and signifying *olla*. This Phrygian word, if it existed, could not have differed much from *checla*, with which it would have been identical in meaning.

8. 'Hesychius: ἀρφύταινον ὁ δίσκος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν. macedonice teste eodem ἀρφὺς ἰμάς.' *Arice*, p. 51.

*Arfydar*, E. verwerfen, (cf. δικάιν, διασκεῖν) scheiden. *charta d'arfudaschun*, Scheidebrief.

The Lat. *repudio*, and similar words, appear also as kindred terms.

9. 'Hesychius: βάσκε πικρολέα πλησίον ἐξεθόαζε λυδιστί et βάστιζα κρόλεα θάσσον ἔρχον λυδιστί. utrumque corruptum. in βάστιζα comparativum agnoscere mihi videor, sk. îyas, goth. iza. sk. vâga festinatio, vâgîta incitatus festinus.' *Arice*, p. 43.

May we not, supposing the first of these sentences to be correct, refer πικρολέα to the same root as the Phrygian πικέριον, i. e. *pyâi*, 'pinguescere' and thus take it to mean 'thickly' or 'close,' like the Greek πυκνῶς, which seems a kindred word? In this case, as βάσκε πικρολέα is equivalent to πλησίον ἐξεθόαζε, we must take πικρολέα to be equivalent to πλησίον, and βάσκε, in consequence, to ἐξεθόαζε.

*Bassiar*, *bassegjar*, 1. unruhig sein, treiben, Eile machen. *bassai! mo bassai!* Ausruf des Unwillens, Bedaurens: nun doch! dass doch!

These words seem also connected with the Lat. *passus*, and the Italian *passaggiare*.

10. 'Pollux vi., 104: μύρον βρένθιον ἐκ Λυδίας.' *Arice*, p. 43.

*Branchin*, *brainta*, *branzin*, (Filisur) starker Dunst, Nebel.

The English *breath*, a word of Saxon origin, seems also a kindred term.

11. 'Tzetzes chil. vi. 482:

τὸ κανθαύλης λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγει.

idem apud Kramerum anecd. oxon. iii. p. 351:

τὸ κανθαύλης λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλλοπνίκτην λέγει,  
ὥσπερ Ἰππῶναξ δείκνυσι γράφων ἰάμβω πρώτῳ·

Ἐρμῇ κυνάγχα, μῆονιστὶ κανθαύλα,

φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπαρδεῦσαι.



Hesychius nihil habet nisi: Κανδαύλας Ἑρμῆς ἢ Ἡρακλῆς et κάν-  
δωλος κακοῦργος ληστής . . . . . radix sk. δῦ agitare vexare.  
arm. kēndel πνίγειν et kēndoī πνίγων? *Arice*, p. 44.

*Candarials* pl. *Candarels*. eine Art Drüsenübel, das das Ath-  
men sehr erschwert, und sich am Vorderarm bis zum Handgelenk  
heraus, besonders bei jüngern Kindern, zeigt. Name und Natur  
des Uebels scheint nicht allen Bündner Aerzten bekannt zu sein.

It will be observed that this very remarkable coincidence is  
one between the Rhæto-romansch and the Lydian, the language  
of that branch of the Thracian race with which the Etruscans  
are traditionally identified.

12. 'Stephanus s. v.: Σουάγγελα πόλις Καρίας, ἔνθα ὁ τάφος ἦν  
τοῦ Καρός, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ τοῦνομα· καλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κᾶρες σοῦαν τὸν τάφον,  
γέλαν δὲ τὸν βασιλεία.' *Arice*, p. 4.

We may connect σοῦα in two ways with the Rhæto-romansch:

(1) *Suonna*. E. Kübel.

*Kübel* (which may be compared with the Gr. κιβωτός) appears  
connected with *Kufe*, *Koffer*, and the Eng. *coffin*.

(2) *Sugl*, *suigl*, *suolch* 2. *suoi gl* 3. *Furche*.

From *Furche* to *Graben* and *Grab* the transition is easy.

*Zuoi gl*, *zuigl*, Häufchen. *zuogliar*, verstopfen, bedecken.

Carian σοῦα = Gr. τάφος = Eng. *tomb* = Lat. *tumulus* = Germ.  
*Haufe* or *Häufchen* = Rhæt.-rom. *zuoi gl*.

It is evident, from the meaning of *sugl* and *suolch*, that these  
words are also connected with the Lat. *sulcus*. The German  
*schütte*, 'a heap,' (= *tumulus*) appears to be another kindred  
term to the Carian σοῦα, and the similar Rhæto-romansch words.  
We may perhaps conjecture, in addition, that the frequently  
recurring Etruscan word, *suthi*, is allied to σοῦα and *schütte*; for  
the most natural meaning of *suthi*, in a monumental inscription,  
such as *eca suthi Larthial Cilnia*, is 'tomb' or 'monument'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The apparent affinities of some other  
Thracian words seem to deserve notice:

Βάνθα, (Carian) νίκη. Ital. *vanto*;  
Rhæt.-rom. *vantaig*; Eng. *advantage*, &c.

Γίσσα, (Carian) λίθος. Gr. γῆψος;  
Lat. *gypseum*; Rhæt.-rom. *gips*, *gip*,  
*gies*, &c.

Σάρποι, (Bithynian) κιβωτοί, ξόλωνοι  
οἰκίας. Lat. (perhaps) *carpentum*; Eng.  
*carpenter*; French, *charpentier*.

Αττάγος, ἄττηγος, (Phrygian, Ionian)  
*hircus*: 'pera. *takka* caper hædus,' *Arice*,  
p. 31. Germ. *ziege*.

Βαλήν, (Phrygian) βασιλεύς. Seems  
allied to *Baal*. It serves to explain the  
meaning of *Decebalus*, i. e. the 'Dacian  
king.' Compare Bret. *beli*; Germ. *wal-*  
*ten*; Eng. *Bret-walda*. The *walda* in  
the English, or rather Anglo-Saxon,  
*Bretwalda*, also reminds us of the



These seem to be the most remarkable instances in which an affinity to the Thracian languages may be traced, with more or less probability, in that element of the Rhæto-romansch, which may very possibly represent the ancient Rhætian,—the same language, or a branch of the same language, as the native dialect of the Etruscans. The Rhæto-romansch has thus, if we may rely on the antiquity of a part of it, (and it must be remembered that it is in mountainous countries that the relics of ancient languages most generally linger) afforded us the means of instituting a comparison of the Etruscan with the Thracian, which could not have been done by means of the Etruscan language itself. For the few words in the Etruscan language, of which the meaning is known, or probably known, are not available for such a purpose, in consequence of the extreme scantiness of the remains of the Etruscan and different Thracian languages. Some Etruscan words seem however to be connected, though in general not exclusively, with the Rhæto-romansch dialects. Yet this connexion is not one which it is very important to establish, as we know from historical evidence that the Rhætians and Etruscans belonged to the same race. The Etruscan words *apluda* ‘bran,’ and *floces*, ‘dregs of wine,’ may be, one or both, allied to the Rhæto-romansch *bleuscha*, ‘Hülse.’ *Balteus*, ‘a girdle,’ of which the material may be expected to have been leather, seems connected with the Rhæto-romansch *paletscha*, ‘Haut,’ and also at the same time with the Latin *pellis*, as well as the Thracian *πέλτης*. *Druna*, ‘sovereignty,’ presents a rather close resemblance to the Rhæto-romansch *thrun*, ‘Thron,’ which is plainly identical with the Greek *θρόνος*, and the Latin *thronus*. In *falandum*, ‘the sky,’ the open expanse of heaven, is involved the idea contained in the Rhæto-romansch *palantar* ‘offenbaren,’ and the Latin *palam*. *Falandum* has, besides, exactly the same

Lydian *κοαλαδεῖν*, ‘king.’ See *Arice*, p. 45.

*Mâ*, (Phrygian) *πρόβατα*. Possibly connected with the Gr. *μήλον*, and the Engadinisch *maladera*, ‘Schafhürde auf freiem Felde.’

*Τεγοῦν* *Λυδοί* *τὸν* *ληστήν*. Rhæt.-rom. *tegien*, *tegen*, *daja*, *deja*, all = Germ. *degen*. Compare different meanings of Lat. *latro*.

*Ζεῖρά*, (Thracian) *περίβλημα* or *ζῶμα*.

Ital. and Rhæt.-rom. *gírar*; Eng. *girdle*; Lat. *circum*, &c.

*Πέλτης* (Thracian) *θράκιον ὄπλον καὶ εἶδος ταρίχου*. Lat. *pellis*; Rhæt.-rom. *pell*, *pial*, *paletscha*; Germ. *Fell*; Eng. *fell*, *felt*, *belt*. The intermediate idea between those of *ὄπλον* and *τάριχος* seems that of a dressed hide. Compare Gr. *σκῆτος*.

*Ζέτνα*, (Phrygian) *πόλη*. Lat. *janua*; Eng. *gate*.

meaning as the Latin *palatum*<sup>1</sup>. *Farissa*, 'an excavation,' resembles the Latin *fossa*, and appears connected with the Rhæto-romansch *fassui*, 'Hacke,' 'Haue<sup>2</sup>.' The closest parallel to *farissa* seems, however, to be found in the Armenian *parsel*, 'in foveas excavare.' *Stroppus*, 'a fillet,' may be referred to the German *stroppen* and the English *strap*, as well as to the Greek *στρόφιον*. *Tree* or *three*, (perhaps also *turce*) words which probably mean 'sorrow' or 'sorrowful,' (Donaldson's *Varronianus*, p. 174) seem to remain in the Rhæto-romansch *tursch* 'trübe.' *Subulo*, 'a flute-player,' appears allied to the Gothic *sriglon*, 'pfeifen,' 'αὐλεῖν<sup>3</sup>.'

## NOTE.

In this note will be found a tolerably full list of the names in Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia, Mæsia, (including Scythia Parva,) Thrace, and Asia Minor, which bear a resemblance to one another. As there must be coincidences of names, whether accidental or otherwise, in most countries, it appeared advisable to extend the collection as much as possible: for, unless the coincidences are numerous, the argument from them loses much of its force. The names of some places in Etruria, and in the Etruscan part of Northern Italy, will be found included. The modern names will be given in Italics. When not otherwise specified, the names are of towns, villages, or hamlets.

*Latsch*, *Lax*, (Grisons;) *Latsch*, *Laas*, (Tyrol;) *Laciacum*, (Noricum.) *Juvalta*, a castle, *Juppa*, *Jof*<sup>4</sup>, (Grisons;) *Jufahl*, a

<sup>1</sup> See also (*Varronianus*, p. 179) the explanation of the Etruscan word *flenim*, which seems to be a kindred term to *falandum*.

<sup>2</sup> With *farissa*, *fossa*, *fovea*, and *fodio*, we may also connect the Rhæto-romansch *fop* 'tief,' and *foppa*, 'Grube,' 'Vertiefung.' The name 'foppa' is sometimes given in the Grisons to defiles, as in the case of *La foppa am Kunkels*. *Foppa* is probably, as we might conjecture from its connexion with *farissa*, a genuine Rhætian word. For it seems to prevail beyond the limits of the Grisons, being found in the Val Formazza, a part of the territory of the ancient Rhætian Lepontii. At least the name of the village

Foppiano in this valley seems compounded of *fop* or *foppa*, and the Italian *piano*.

<sup>3</sup> The meanings of these Etruscan words are taken from Dr Donaldson's *Varronianus*. It will be observed that we have referred the Etruscan word *subulo* to the Gothic. This is in consequence of the resemblance noticed in the *Varronianus* between the Gothic dialects and the ancient Etruscan. The Gothic and German affinities of the Etruscans will be afterwards considered. It will be sufficient here merely to advert to the fact of the existence of such affinities.

<sup>4</sup> The root of these names is perhaps to be found in the Gothic *iup*, 'hinauf,'

castle, *Javre, Jaufen*, a pass and valley, (Tyrol;) *Juvavum* or *Juvavia*, *Joviacum*, (Noricum;) *Jovia*, (Pannonia.) *Plaus, Bludenz, Plus, Blons, Bludesch*, (Tyrol;) *Blaudus* or *Blaudon*, (Mysia.) *Tscherms*, (Tyrol;) *Germasino*, (Lake of Como;) *Germa*, (Mysia;) *Germa*, (Galatia.) *Kumbels*, (Grisons;) *Comasine, Coman*, (Tyrol;) *Como*, anc. *Comum*, (Lombardy;) *Comagenæ*, (Noricum.) *Laret*, (Grisons;) *Laurein*, (Tyrol;) *Lavorgo*, (Tessin;) *Lauriacum*, (Noricum;) *Lorium*, (Etruria;) *Loryma*, (Caria.) *Lu, Luen, Lussey, Luzein, Lugnetz*, a district, *Lukmanier*, a pass, (Grisons;) *Lüsen, Lauchen Spitz*, a mountain, (Tyrol;) Lake of *Luzendro*, (Tessin;) *Lugio* or *Lugionum, Lussunium*, (Pannonia<sup>1</sup>.) *Tartano*, (Valtelline;) *Darden*, (Tyrol;) *Dardanus*, (Mysia;) and the country called *Dardania*. *Davos, Duvin, Davella*, a castle, (Grisons;) *Tavo, Tavon*, (Tyrol;) *Aci-dava*, and the rest of the numerous Dacian towns ending in *dava*. *Ar-detz, Dajen, Dusch, Per-datsch*, (Grisons;) *Dajano, Daxa*, (Tyrol;) *Ar-desio*, (Val Seriana;) *Ardeiscus*, (Dacia;) and the Thracian towns ending in *dessus, dizus* or *dizum*<sup>2</sup>. *Buseno, Busserein, Pizasc, Buzasc*,

‘in die Höhe,’ ‘*ἄνω*,’ *iupa*, ‘oben,’ ‘hinauf,’ ‘*ἄνω*.’

<sup>1</sup> These words seem derived from a root of very extensive prevalence. (See Dufenbach. *Goth. Dict.* L. 45. II. 147, 148.) Words of this class may be traced up to the Sansk. *lug’*, ‘*lucere*,’ *lok’*, *loc’*, ‘*splendere*,’ ‘*videre*.’ Names involving this root seem applied to mountains, (and thence, by the common gradation, to towns,) on account of their conspicuous character, or, possibly, from their being favourable points of view. Such a mode of nomenclature seems to prevail in other cases. Thus, while we may trace the name of the *Lukmanier* or *Lukmajor* mountain up to our English *look*, or more nearly to the Anglo-Saxon *leóman* ‘*lucere*,’ or the Gothic *laukmoni* ‘*blitz*,’ we may also conjecture that the name of the *Sevo mons* in ancient Scandinavia may be referred to the Gothic *saihvān* or *selven*, Eng. *see*, and such modern names as *Skagstöl* to the Gothic *skaujan*, (allied to Eng. *show*) ‘*spectare*.’ Compare also Gr. σκοπέω, σκοπή, σκό-

πελος. The *Lukmanier* pass is said to be called in Latin, (probably in Low Latin) *Mons Lucumoni*; and indeed the name *Lukmajor* itself, occurring in ancient Rhetia, suggests the possibility of an affinity to the Etruscan title *Lucumo*, more properly *Lauchme*. The connexion is sufficiently plain. The *Lucumones* were ‘*illustres*,’ or ‘*spectabiles*.’ Compare Gibbon, cap. XVII. (iv. 33. ed. Milman.)

<sup>2</sup> The Dacian termination *dava*, and the Thracian *dessus* or *dizus*, are most likely different forms of the same word, like *Davus* and *Dacus*; *deiscus*, in *Ardeiscus*, would belong to the same class of expressions. The meaning of such terminations would probably be ‘*town*’ or ‘*place*,’ like the English termination *ham*, for example. In the Engadinisch *dascus, adascus*, ‘*heimlich*,’ ‘*im Geheim*,’ we may very possibly have the same root. Kindred words to *dava* or *dessus* seem to be: Germ. *dach*; Celt. *teagh*; Lat. *tectum*; Gr. *τεῖχος*.



(Grisons;) *Bezau, Bizau, Biasezza*, (Tyrol;) *Bissone*, (Tessin;) *Pisogne*, (Lake of Iseo;) *Basante*, (Pannonia;) *Besovia*, (Dacia;) *Bizona*, (Mæsia;) *Byzantium, Bisanthe, Byzia*, (Thrace<sup>1</sup>.) *Jenatz, Jenisberg, Jenins*, (Grisons;) *Jenisien*, (Tyrol;) *Juenna*, (Noricum.) *Sarn, Zernetz* or *Cernetz*, (Grisons;) *Tiarno, Tierno*, (Tyrol;) *Sarnico*, (Lake of Iseo;) *Teurnia*, (Noricum;) *Dierna, Zernes*, (Dacia;) *Ternobus*, (Mæsia;) *Zerna* or *Zerinia*, (Thrace.) *Perignano, Preghena, Pergine, Berghi*, (Tyrol;) *Bergamo*, anc. *Bergomum*, (Lombardy;) *Bergula*, (Thrace;) *Pergamus*, (Mysia.) *Araba*, (Tyrol;) *Arrabona*, (Pannonia;) *Arrubium*, (Mæsia.) *Noriglio*, (Tyrol;) *Noreia* or *Noricia*, (Noricum.) *Sarkans*, (Grisons;) *Sargans*, (St Gall;) *Sarraca*, (Rhætia;) *Zargidava*, (Dacia;) *Sarxa*, (Thrace.) *Tarasp*, (Grisons;) *Tarsch, Teres, Terfens*, (Tyrol;) *Tarquini*, *Lacus Thrasimenus*, (Etruria;) *Trosmi*, (Mæsia;) *Tiriscum* or *Taros*, (Dacia.) *Sardagna*, (Tyrol;) *Sardica*, (Mæsia;) *Sardis*, (Lydia.) *Selva*<sup>2</sup>, (Grisons;) *Selva*, (Tyrol;) *Solva*, (Noricum.) *Nüfenen*, (Grisons;) *Näfels*, (Glarus;) *Nafen, Nofen, Navis, Nago*, (Tyrol;) *Nepe, Nepet, or Nepete*, (Etruria;) *Napoca, Napuca*, (Dacia<sup>3</sup>.) *Nassaduna*, (Grisons;) *Naissus*, (Mæsia.) *Panix*, (Grisons;) *Panone*, (Tyrol;) *Panissus*, (Mæsia;) and the country of Pannonia. *Feet, Fettan, Vaz, Vattis, Pettbauer Berg*, a mountain, (Grisons;) *Pattenen, Petneu, Padauner, Patone*, (Tyrol;) *Vetoniana*, (Noricum;) *Vettona*, (Umbria, near the Tiber;) *Vedulia*, (Pannonia;) *Vetulonii*, (Etruria;) *Pætovio*, now *Pettau*, (Pannonia;) *Vetestum*, (Phrygia.) *Uderns, Itter*, (Tyrol;) *Utidava*, (Dacia;) *Utum, Idunum*, (Mæsia;) *Mount Ida*, (Mysia.) *Tribulaun Berg*, a mountain, (Tyrol;) *Triballi*, a Thracian people. *Patsch*, (Tyrol;) *Pactya*, (Thrace;) *Pactyas Mons*, (Lydia.) *Vagorno*, (Tessin;) *Vacorium*, (Noricum.) *Gorduno*, (Tessin;) *Gordona*, (Valtelline;) *Gordium*, (Phrygia.) *Gargazon*, (Tyrol;) *Gargnano*, (Lake of Garda;) *Gargara, Gergis, Gergitha*, (Mysia.) *Asch*, (Tyrol;) *Asso*, near *Como*, (Lombardy;)

<sup>1</sup> A connexion may be suspected here with the Gr. *βυθός* and *βυσσός*, and the Germ. *busen*. Names of this kind are perhaps applied to places situated in deep hollows, bays, or valleys. *Bisanthe, Byzantium*, and *Bizona*, are in fact situated on bays or inlets. So also, taking the first part of the name of the town *Daci-byza* in *Bithynia* to be identical in

signification with *dava* or *dessus*, we should conjecture the meaning of the full name to be 'the town on the bay;' an interpretation which is in accordance with the position of the place.

<sup>2</sup> *Selva*, in *Rhæt.-rom.* = Lat. *silva*.

<sup>3</sup> These words may possibly be allied to the Gr. *βάπη* and the Germ. *napf*.

Æscus, (Mæsia;) Assus, (Thrace;) Assus, (Mysia<sup>1</sup>.) *Gobra Berg*, a mountain, (Tyrol;) *Cobrys*, (Thrace.) *Zillis*, (Grisons;) *Celeia*, now *Cilli*, (Noricum;) *Cellæ*, *Cillium*, (Thrace;) *Zeleia*, (Mysia<sup>2</sup>.) *Soazza*, (Grisons;) *Soatris*, *Sostra*, (Thrace.) *Sabate*, (Etruria;) *Sebatum*, now *Schabs*, (Rhætia;) *Sevaces*, a people, *Sabatinca*, (Noricum;) *Sabaria*, (Pannonia.) *Süs*, *Zuz*, *Tusis*, (Grisons;) *Siscia*, otherwise *Suscia* or *Tuscia*, (Pannonia;) *Succi*, *Zusidava*, (Dacia;) *Succidava*, (Mæsia.) *Scopi*, a mountain, (Grisons;) *Scupi*, (Dardania<sup>3</sup>.) *Brio*, *Brione*, (Tyrol;) *Brione*, (Tessin;) *Mesem-bria*, *Selym-bria*, (Thrace;  $\beta\rho\iota\alpha$  in Thracian =  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ;) *Priene*, (Lydia.) *Breno*, (Tessin;) *Breno*, (Val Camonica;) *Brenzon*, (Lake of Garda;) *Brenner*, (Tyrol;) *Brendice*, (Thrace: *dice* seems a termination like *dizus* and *dizum*;) *Prendavesii*, a Dacian people. *Tavetsch*, a district, (Grisons;) *Tibiscus*, *Tiviscum*, *Patavissa*, (Dacia.) *Brigels*, (Grisons;) *Brucla*, (Dacia.) *Ruschein*, (Grisons;) *Russo*, (Tessin;) *Rusellæ*, (Etruria;) *Rutium*, (Pannonia;) *Rusidava*, (Dacia.) *Carasso*, (Tessin;) *Carasura*, (Thrace.) *Teglio*, (Valtelline;) *Tiliada*, (Val Antigorio;) *Talia* or *Taliatis*, *Teglicium*, (Mæsia.) *Salux*, (Grisons;) *Saloca*, (Noricum;) *Salle*, *Sallicenæ*, (Pannonia;) *Sale*, (Thrace.) *Lohn*, *Lenz*, (Grisons;) *Lona*, (Tyrol;) *Loncium*, now *Lienz*, *Lentia*, (Noricum.) *Cles*, (Tyrol;) *Clusium*, (Etruria.) *Vira*, (Tessin;) *Vrin*, (Grisons;) *Verona*, (Lombardy;) *Virunum*, (Noricum.) *Tomils*, Lake of *Toma*, *Piz Tomil*, a mountain, (Grisons;) *Timbls* pass or *Timbler Joch*, (Tyrol;) *Tomi*, (Mæsia;) *Mount Tmolus*, (Lydia.) *Sins*, *Signau*, a castle, *Piz Signina*, a mountain, *Segnes*, a pass and valley, (Grisons;) *Singidava*, (Dacia;) *Sensii*, a Dacian tribe; *Sinaus*, *Synnada*, (Phrygia.) *Peist*, (Grisons;) *Pessium*, (Dacia;) *Pæsus*, (Mysia;) *Pessinus*, (Galatia.) Lake of *Muesa*, *Moesa*, or *Moesola*, (Grisons;) *Mæsia* and *Mysia*; *Myus*, (Caria.) *Guarda*, (Grisons;) *Guardin*, (Mæsia.) *Corfara*, (Tyrol;) *Zuro-bara*, (Dacia;) and the Thracian towns ending in *para*<sup>4</sup>. *Egschi*, (Grisons;) *Ægissus*, *Ægeta*, (Mæsia.) *Sagen*, (Grisons;) *Sagadava*, (Mæsia;) *Druser Thal* and *Druser Thor*, valley and pass,

<sup>1</sup> We have also an Assus in Crete. The names of three other Cretan towns, *Gnossus*, *Gortyna*, and *Metallum*, resemble those of three places in Rhætian Switzerland, *Gnosca*, *Gorduno*, and *Ma-dulein*.

<sup>2</sup> Kindred words; Lat. *cella*; Celt.

*ceall*, *cel*, *cell*, *cill*; Germ. *zell*; Goth. *zelikn*.

<sup>3</sup> These words seem allied to the Lat. *scopulus*; Gr.  $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{o}\pi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\acute{\eta}$ .

<sup>4</sup> *Para* may perhaps be connected with the Lat. *paries*; Rhæt.-rom. *prei*, *parci*, *parait*.

(Grisons;) Druzipara, (Thrace;) Druzum, afterwards Eumenia, (Phrygia;) Odrysæ, a Thracian people. *Parpan*, (Grisons;) Perperene, (Mysia.) Cotuantii, a Rhætian people; Cotesii, a Dacian people; Cotys, a Thracian, and also a Lydian king; Cotyæum, (Phrygia.) Cibalis, (Pannonia;) Sipylum, Mons Sipylus, (Lydia;) Cibyra, (Phrygia<sup>1</sup>).

R. ELLIS.

(To be continued.)

## II.

### *A Plea for Greek Accents.*

*Accentus est anima vocis.*—DIOMEDES.

HAVING, after mature consideration, adopted the practice of reading Greek according to the accentual marks, and being

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the names which have been cited as occurring in the Grisons, Tyrol, &c., others of a similar class are to be found in the eastern, or German, part of the canton of the Vallais; as *Rizigen, Laax, Deisch, Täsch, Äggischhorn, Lugein, Leuk*. This is what might possibly have been expected, as the Viberi, the ancient inhabitants of this district, were a branch of the Lepontii, and consequently Rhætians. These Viberi are the most westerly Rhætian tribe of which history makes mention. Their existence in the Vallais, (supposing the Rhætians to be allied to the Gothic race) suggests three questions, which are, however, foreign to the purpose of the present article, and are therefore merely glanced at. (1) Was there any affinity between the Rhætians and the genuine Swiss race, by which the three Forest Cantons and the Bernese Oberland are supposed to have been peopled? According to their tradition, the Swiss derive their origin from Scandinavia, and thus consider themselves to belong to the Gothic stock of nations. Müller, also, the historian of Switzerland, observes, that the proper names in the Hasli, and the peculiar accentuation of the Haslians, resemble those of the Swedes.

Stalder, again, in his *Landessprachen der Schweiz*, remarks that, in the Vallais and the Bernese Oberland especially, there are found words of very ancient character and unknown origin. (2) Had these Rhætian Viberi any connexion with the 'gentes semigermance,' whom Livy (xxi. 38) speaks of in the neighbourhood of the Great St Bernard? (3) Were the Rhætians in any way allied to the German communities inhabiting the head of the Val Formazza, and the heads of the four Italian valleys which run up to the Monte Rosa group of Alps? One of these last valleys, the Val Anzasca, would have been included in Rhetia. In the countries anciently inhabited by the Rhætians, we might expect to find three languages: (1) the relics of the Old Rhætian, a language probably of Getic or Gothic character, and having an affinity to the Low German; (2) a corrupted Latin, or Romance dialect; and (3) a dialect derived from the Old Alemannic or Bavarian, languages belonging to the High German. In the three Forest Cantons, in the Upper Vallais, and in the valleys at the foot of Monte Rosa, secluded districts unfrequented by the Romans, the Latin element of language would probably be deficient.



desirous of stating to my fellow professors and teachers of all descriptions the philological principles on which my practice has proceeded, and the educational advantages with which it is attended, I shall in the present paper shortly set forth these principles and their practical application, hoping either to induce others to follow my example, or to receive from them that correction of which I may stand in need.

It is a remarkable fact, meeting us on the very threshold of this question, that our best modern grammarians, English as well as German, distinctly state that Greek *ought* to be pronounced according to accent. Take the following testimonies:—

JELF. (§ 43. 1. Obs. 5.)

“In the pronunciation of a Greek word regard ought to be had both to accent and quantity. The accented syllable should be emphatically pronounced with its appropriate pitch, and at the same time the quantity of each syllable distinctly marked.”

DONALDSON. (Complete Greek Grammar, § 40.)

“The accent is the sharp or elevated sound with which some one of the last three syllables of a Greek word is regularly pronounced.”

SCHMITZ. (Greek Grammar, § 22.)

“Every Greek word has its own accent, that is, it has one syllable which is more emphatically pronounced than the others: and ever since the time of the Alexandrian Grammarians it has been customary to mark the accent on every word for the purpose of pointing out the correct pronunciation. In modern times the accents, although scrupulously observed in writing and printing, have been undeservedly neglected in reading and pronouncing Greek; but we should endeavour by all means to revive the genuine ancient pronunciation in this respect also.”

GEORG. CURTIUS. (Griechisch Schulgrammatik. § 17—18.)

“The syllable marked with the accent must be made sharply prominent (*scharf hervorgehoben*) above the other syllables.

The proparoxytones with long penultimate must be so pronounced that the accent on the antepenultimate and the long quantity of the penultimate may be both audible: so βέβηκα pronounced Bébēka as in the German word *ábwēsēnd*: ἀπόβαινε pronounced apóbaine as in the German *herímlaufen*.”

It will be observed that Curtius here in a practical School Grammar is talking of actual pronunciation, to make which intelligible he adduces the German parallel; and he speaks of a thing which in the course of teaching is actually done in Germany. He never conceives the neglect of the accents as a possible case: as little, I imagine, does THIERSCH, though him I do not quote, because he does not formally say that accents either are or ought to be observed, only generally that they are a most significant part of the living power of the language. His observations indeed are so strong that it is impossible to read them without feeling that the author considered himself as dealing not with the written formalism of a dead law, but with a vigorously pulsing organic function. All these testimonies therefore bearing distinctly upon what either ought to be done, or actually is done, are distinguished in a sufficiently marked way from the well-known enunciation of Porson on the same subject in the first note to the *Medea*. Here the language used by that stout philologist on the importance of a thorough knowledge of the doctrine of accents to the accomplished scholar is no doubt sufficiently emphatic. But as he does not distinctly say how that knowledge is to be attained, whether by a system of abstract rules addressed to the understanding, or by the concrete practice of tongue and custom of ears, his authority does not touch my purpose, save in an inferential way; and therefore I let him pass.

Greek, then, according to the consenting voice of our greatest grammatical authorities *ought* to be pronounced according to accents. We all know, however, that actually it is not so pronounced. Here is a remarkable "antinomy," as old Emmanuel Kant would have said; what are we to do with it? Are such accents, like the higher precepts of Christian morality, a matter that every body ought to attend to, and nobody does—something utterly beyond the strength of the general philological world to reach? Or are they only like carelessly played notes in an ill-trained pianist, which a little early care under a skilful and conscientious instructor might have prevented? This latter simile is the one that to me seems truly to express the truth of the case; and to make this manifest I shall, before proceeding further, set down a few definitions from the ancient grammarians, that we may see distinctly what accent is. For our present inconsistent habit of doing daily what we allow in theory ought

not to be done, can be excused only on one of three grounds. Either we do not know distinctly what accent means, and therefore cannot observe it, or we know it to be something so essentially different from what accent means in modern language, that it is better to omit all reference to it, than to run the risk of confounding it with an imperfect resemblance; or lastly, knowing perfectly what it ought to be in theory, we find ourselves so entangled in a contrary practice, that it seems not worth the while to make a change. All these grounds I shall shew to be worthless. First as to the theory.

The definitions of accent given by some of the principal ancient authorities are as follows:—

DIONYSIUS of HALICARNASSUS. (de Structurâ orat.)

Τάσεις φωνῆς αἱ καλούμεναι προσφῳδαί.—§ 19.

Διαλέκτου μὲν οὖν μέλος ἐνὶ μετρεῖται διαστήματι τῷ λεγομένῳ διὰ πέντε, ὡς ἔγγιστα, καὶ οὔτε ἐπιτείνεται πέρα τῶν τριῶν τόνων καὶ ἡμιτονίου ἐπὶ τὸ δξὺ οὔτε ἀνίσταται τοῦ χωρίου τούτου πλεῖον ἐπὶ τὸ βαρύ.

THEODOSIUS. (Göttling, pp. 57—61.)

Τί ἐστιν ἀνάγνωσις; ποιημάτων ἢ συγγραμμάτων ἀδιάπτωτος προφορά.

Πόσα εἶδη τῆς ἀναγνώσεως; τρία· ὑπόκρισις, προσφῳδία, διαστολή. Τί ἐστιν προσφῳδία; τόνος φωνῆς κατὰ ἀναλογίαν διαλέκτου κατορθούμενος. Πῶς χρὴ ἀναγινώσκειν; χρὴ ποιεῖν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καθ' ὑπόκρισιν κατὰ προσφῳδίαν καὶ κατὰ διαστολήν.

Τί ἐστι τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν κατὰ προσφῳδίαν; ἥγουν κατὰ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς τόνους. προσφῳδία γὰρ ὁ τόνος. Καὶ δεῖ τὸν νέον ἀρχῆθεν κατορθοῦν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν κατὰ προσφῳδίαν καὶ τόνον· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς προσφῳδίας τὴν τέχνην δηλοῦμεν τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος.

Ἔστι δὲ τόνος ἐπίτυσις ἢ ἀνεσις ἢ μεσότης συλλαβῶν εὐφωνίαν ἔχουσα· ἢ ἐναρμονίου φωνῆς ἀπήχησις ἐστιν ὁ ἦχος, ἢ προφορά, ἢ ἐκφώνησις. Ἔστι δὲ ἐναρμόνιος φωνὴ ἢ συγκειμένη ἐξ ὀξείας καὶ βαρείας καὶ περισπωμένης, οἷα ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πᾶσα ἢ μιμουμένη τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φωνήν, ὡς ἡ κιθάρα, τὸ ὄργανον, ἢ σύριγξ. Ἔστι δὲ ἐναρμόνιος φωνὴ ἐγγράμματός τε καὶ ἔναρθρος· φασὶ δὲ ὅτι τέσσαρες εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ τῶν φωνῶν, ἐναρμόνιος ἐγγράμματος ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φωνή· ἐναρμόνιος ἀγράμματος ὡς ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων στεναγμός· ἐναρμόνιος ἐγγράμματος ὡς ἡ τοῦ ψιττακοῦ φωνή· ἐναρμόνιος ἀγράμματος ὡς ἡ τῶν προβάτων βληχή.

Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τόνου τρεῖς ἀπήχησεις· ἡ κατὰ ἀνάτασιν ἐν τῇ ὀξεΐᾳ, ἡ κατὰ ὀμαλισμὸν ἐν τῇ βαρείᾳ, ἡ κατὰ περὶ κλασιν ἐν τῇ περισπωμένῃ. Ἀνάτασις μὲν ἐστὶ ὁ ἐπιτεταγμένος καὶ δξύτονος φθόγγος· ὀμαλισμὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ μετὰ ἀνέσεως γενόμενος βαρὺς φθόγγος.



Τί ἔστι προσωδία; ποιά τάσις φωνῆς ὑγιoῦς κατὰ τὸ ἀπαγγελτικὸν τῆς λέξεως ἐκφερομένη. Καὶ ἄλλως. προσωδία ἔστι διαφορά ἐν ταῖς λέξεσι φθόγγον· καὶ ἄλλως. προσωδία ἔστι τόνος πρὸς ὃν ᾄδομεν, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν εὐρυτέραν ποιoῦμεν· Καὶ ἄλλως προσωδία ἔστι τὸ κροῦσμα τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκφωνήσει γιγνόμενον. Ἔστι δὲ ποιά ἡ πεποιημένη φωνή· ἡγουν, ἡ ὀξύτονός ἐστιν ἡ βαρύτονος ἡ περισπωμένη. Τάσις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάτασις καὶ ἀπλωσις τοῦ τόνου. Εἴρηται δὲ ἡ προσωδία παρὰ τὸ προσάδειν καὶ ἀρμόζειν τῇ ὑποκειμένη λέξει.

MOSCHOPULUS. (Titze. p. 40.)

Τόνος ἐστὶν ἐπίτασις ἡ ἀνεσις ἡ μεσότης συλλαβῶν εὐφωνίαν ἔχουσα, κυρίως μὲν ἡ ὀξεῖα καὶ ἡ περισπωμένη τόνος· ἔστι δὲ ὀξεῖα ποιότης συλλαβῆς ἐπιτεταμένον ἔχουσα φθόγγον· βαρεῖα δὲ ποιότης συλλαβῆς ἐστὶν ἀνεμείνον ἔχουσα φθόγγον.

CICERO. (Orator. c. 17.)

"Mira est enim quædam natura vocis: cujus quidem, e tribus omnino sonis inflexo, acuto, gravi tanta sit et tam suavis varietas in CANTIBUS. Est autem in DICENDO etiam quidam cantus obscurior, non hic e Phrygia et Caria rhetorum epilogus, pure canticum: sed ille quem significat Demosthenes et Æschines quum alter alteri objicit VOCIS FLEXIONES. Ipsa enim natura quasi modularetur hominum orationem in omni verbo posuit acutam vocem, nec una plus, nec a postrema syllaba citra tertiam; quo magis naturam ducem ad aurium voluptatem sequatur industria. Ac vocis quidem bonitas optanda est; non est enim in nobis; sed tractatio atque usus in nobis. Ergo ille princeps variabit et mutabit: omnes sonorum tum INTENDENS, tum REMITTENS persequatur gradus."

DIOMEDES. (Lib. II. p. 425. Putsch.)

"Accentus est acutæ vel gravis vel inflexæ orationis ELATIO, VOCISVE INTENTIO VEL INCLINATIO, acuto aut inflexo sono regens verba. Nam ut nulla vox sine vocali ita sine accentu nulla est. Et est ACCENTUS, ut quidam recto putaverunt velut ANIMA VOCIS."

Before proceeding to analyze these definitions, all which contain, under slight modifications of expression, substantially the same idea, it may be as well to mention the looseness of expression in some of the phrases used by Theodosius, which so far from giving any additional clearness to the nature of accent, only serve to confound it with quantity, and must thus be specially guarded against in the outset. The phrases alluded to are "τὴν φωνὴν εὐρυτέραν ποιoῦσι," and ἀπλωσις. "To make the sound broader," is surely a very bungling way of saying that the sound is elevated

(as Diomede has it), or made more *intense*, as is the common phrase; such an expression rather gives the idea of prolonging and drawing, or *spreading out*, which last is the exact idea contained in the other word *ἀπλωσις*; and both phrases are evidently more proper for illustrating the idea of quantity than that of accent. This, however, is but a specimen of the extreme ease with which confusion of ideas may be introduced into matters of this kind. There is no subject, indeed, within the whole realm of philology, as I have elsewhere shewn<sup>1</sup>, on which more nonsense has been written than on accent and quantity; and I am continually meeting with educated persons and first-rate scholars, even at this hour, whose ears do not seem able to distinguish between an accented syllable and a long one. So long, indeed, as persons will think it proper and dignified to talk on subjects of which they have no living experience, nothing but nonsense can be the result.

What then is the main notion of accent, according to the concordant testimony of those weighty ancients whose words we have just transcribed? The following points seem quite plain.

1. ACCENT was a part of the living habitual enunciation of the ancients; and to manage it well was in fact, as Theodosius distinctly states, one of the principal elements of correct, elegant, and effective reading. It belongs to *dictio*, or speech, as essentially as notes belong to music. This analogy lies in the word *προσφῳδία*, *accentus*, both in Latin and Greek; and is commented on with evident partiality by Dionysius, Theodosius, and Cicero; and the same analogy, no doubt, forms the only basis for a very absurd notion, which I have seen in print, *viz.* that accents had nothing to do with conversation, but were a part of the science of music!!!

This notion could only have been taken up by some ignorant schoolmaster who was anxious by any sort of a shift to get accents out of the way, that they might not incommode his favourite quantity; for the fact is, that of the two elements of spoken speech, accent and quantity, accent is that which most obstinately cleaves to spoken speech, even under the most adverse circumstances, while quantity, unless taken care of by assiduous musical and rhetorical culture, is apt to be roughly

<sup>1</sup> "On the rhythmical declamation of the ancients." Edinburgh, 1852, reprinted from the *Classical Museum*, Vol.

I. p. 338. In this essay the subject of accents is handled only incidentally to the main scope of the paper, *viz.* RHYTHM.

handled. Accent is a sturdy wild plant that will always shift for itself, so long as a people lives. Quantity looks to a gardener.

2. Accent means the comparative elevation or depression of the voice, as displayed in continuous speech, within the range of vocal inflexion. It forms in fact a gamut of spoken notes; and the accented syllable of a word is that where the voice mounts highest, corresponding to the treble notes in music. It is manifest also from what the ancients say, (though I have not quoted all the passage of Theodosius at full length,) that accent was spoken of among the ancients as with us, not only as a rule of comparison between the different pitch of syllables of the same word, but between one word and another word, and the different positions of the same word in a sentence. Thus certain monosyllables may be accented, that is, pronounced comparatively with a strong intension of the voice, while other monosyllables are always passed over lightly; while regularly at the end of a sentence, a word ending with an accented syllable runs higher up in the scale than the same word occurring in the middle of a sentence.

3. So far all well-informed persons will agree. But there is another point on which I may expect some contradiction. I hold it to be quite plain, from the general character of the phraseology in the above extracts, compared with facts patent to all in the existing Italian and Greek languages, that accent with the ancient Greeks and Romans, (for they both teach the same doctrine,) meant not merely "elevation of the voice," but also, intension, stretching, or a more vigorous forth-putting of vocal energy, or in our common language, *stress of the voice*. These two things of course are not to be confounded. Intension—*έντασις*, and remission—*ἀνεσις*, of the vocal energy, that is, in our language, greater or less stress, do not necessarily go along with the elevation of the voice up *ἐπὶ τὸ ὀξύ*, as Dionysius says, or down *ἐπὶ τὸ βαρύ*. But it is evident that nothing is more natural than for the voice to strike with greater stress upon the elevated syllable, while it falls with less force upon the low note; so much so that in the absence of any proof to the contrary it might with all reason be urged that because the accented syllable of a Greek word was the elevated syllable, it was at the same time the syllable on which the greatest stress of the voice lay in enunciation. The proof, however, of this matter is not very far to seek.



The very words *έντασις* and *κρούσμα*, *intension* and *stroke*, used by Theodosius, distinctly point to a strong vocal stress laid on the elevated syllable: and the phrases, *ένρυτέραν ποιεί την φωνήν*, and *άπλωσις*, used by the same writer, though, as we have observed, scientifically incorrect, admit of an easy explanation on the supposition that the old grammarians, like so many moderns, while meaning to express only *stress*, had used a phrase which more properly expressed duration or quantity. In fact there does reside a tendency in all languages, to lay the stress of the voice upon the accented syllable, sometimes so strongly, as not only to deprive the unaccented syllables of their proper quantity, but to transfer that quantity to the accented syllable, and make it long or "broader." Of this tendency the Scotch furnish obvious examples, making, as they do, in a certain class of words, a rule of drawing out the accented syllable, so as to make it what the Greeks called a long syllable; and a no less striking proof is afforded by the Greeks themselves, who at the present day very often draw out the accented syllable into a regular long, while, on the other hand, such distinctly long syllables as *φῶς*, are by the fault of a long-neglected rhetorical culture, shortened into *φός* (*foss*).

But of modern Greek, and its bearing on the question of ancient Greek accentuation, I must now speak more at large. I say, therefore, whoever desires a striking and sufficient proof that the accent of the ancient Greek contained the same element of *syllabic preponderance by stress of voice*, that prominently marks the accent of all modern languages, has only to fix his eye on the undoubted fact that *the Greeks of the present hour—not a few of the more learned, but the whole mass of the people—place with a few trifling exceptions the stress of the voice upon that syllable of a word which was marked as accented by Aristophanes of Byzantium, and the Alexandrian grammarians two hundred years before the Christian era.* Thus, for example, if an Englishman, educated at Oxford or Cambridge, should, in conversation with a Greek at Corfu or Athens, happen to pronounce the word *ολιγος* with the accent on the antepenult as we regularly do, he will very probably find that the modern Hellen does not understand him, till, after a little explanation, the accent is placed on the penult, and then all is plain. Now this is the very accent which the word bears in all our dictionaries and printed books. And as with *όλιγος* so with every second word which your

thoroughbred English prizeman will trundle out; the Greek will understand his phraseology perfectly well, if the Englishman only observes, in speaking, those accentual marks which, with such a curious inconsistency, he is so nice about in writing. Now what must a reflecting mind conclude from this remarkable coincidence, between the Englishman's written rules about accent and the Greek's practical recognition of these rules? Plainly this, that the Greeks, who exhibit the living power of the tradition of the Alexandrian and Byzantine elders, are a great deal more consistent, and a great deal more likely to be in the right, than a modern people who, while they retain the dead sign, have rejected the living power of the thing signified. But it is not merely that the Greeks are more likely to be in the right. It is absolutely certain that they are in the right. Otherwise let any philologer explain this coincidence between their practice and the rules laid down by their forefathers, in a manner consistent with the known laws of the history of human speech. That the inhabitants of Zante, when speaking of the fine mountain that overhangs their chief city, lay the stress on the last syllable of the word *Σκοπó*, is a fact. That the ancient grammarians laid the accent on the same syllable of the word *Σκοπός*, now shorn by the vulgar of its final consonant, is another fact. Is this coincidence accidental? In one case it might be; in a hundred, a thousand, and in ten thousand cases, certainly not. The modern accent, therefore, is an inheritance from the ancient. That they are minutely and curiously the same in every small shade of a vocal distinction, cannot, of course, be proved; but their substantial identity is to be presumed from the general coincidence, at least till the contrary be established by indubitable proofs. But these proofs do not exist. On the contrary, whatever proofs do exist, are, as I have already shewn, perfectly consistent with, or rather do most strongly bear out, the character of accent as it is exhibited in the living speech of the people. The conclusion is inevitable. The people who speak with the accents which they have inherited from their fathers have not merely every reasonable presumption, but every possible proof in their favour. The scholastic men, who neglect these accents, and pronounce the words of the Greek language—not without accents, for that is scarcely possible—but with a foreign accent transferred without modification from the Latin, are altogether

in the wrong. They must go out of court *simpliciter*. The judge cannot hear their case argued, because they have not even the verisimilitude of a plea.

That the Greek accent as now used by the Hellenes, is substantially the same thing as that used by their forefathers, will be manifest further from general considerations familiar to every student of language. In England no doubt we are somewhat accustomed to the idea that nothing is more whimsical than pronunciation, and that the sounds of certain vowels and consonants, and the predominance of one syllable over another, are matters in which it would be as absurd to expect to find permanency, as in the fashions of Parisian milliners, or the phraseology of German metaphysicians. But this view of the changeableness of spoken language is one-sided and exaggerated. No doubt changes do take place; but within a limited sphere. The obstinate tenacity of a language to its grand radical laws, is a fact more remarkable, and more significant than its occasional caprices. The difference between our present English accentuation and that of Shakespeare is very small; and even the changes that have taken place between Chaucer's time and our own, though they may affect more words, are traceable to a very few leading laws. But supposing that the English are as changeable in their spoken speech, as they are stable and conservative in their ecclesiastical and political habits, a very slight knowledge of foreign languages, will convince us that permanency, not change, is one of the grand characteristics of the language of great races. The whole science of comparative philology, indeed, is full of the most striking proofs of this fact. The organic laws of cognate languages, as they have been traced out by Grimm, Bopp, Donaldson, and others, are only a series of grandly grouped and magnificently extended illustrations of the great facts that prove the permanency of human speech. And if a small difference in sound between one labial and another can be traced through long centuries, as permanently distinguishing one species of a great family of languages from another, are we to imagine, that the very striking and intense element of enunciated sound which we call accent, is to shift with every century, and vary with every school of grammarians? Common sense will not expect this, and exact science certainly demonstrates the contrary. It is an obvious fact, for instance, in modern Italian poetry,



that the rhyme is generally double, and that verses where the rhythm closes with a final accented syllable occur very rarely, and only in short lyrical pieces. Now this characteristic of modern Italian poetry, is no more than the necessary consequence of the orthoepic fact distinctly mentioned by Quintilian, that *no Latin word was accented on the last syllable*. From this rule of the spoken speech the Roman language has not declined one hair-breadth during the whole long descent of the middle ages, and the rough process to which the Roman of Quintilian was subjected, before it became the Italian of Dante. For those few Italian words that are now accented on the last syllable, such as *podestà*, *civitá*, receive that emphasis, plainly not from any shifting of the stress of the voice from one syllable to another, but only because the last (unaccented) syllable of the word has been cut off, while the accented penultimate remains. So far, therefore, as the analogy of Italian might help us, we are entitled to expect that the Greeks of the present day would be found to lay the stress of the voice on the same syllables on which it was laid by Pericles and Plato more than two thousand years ago. But the comparison of the Italian affords us yet a stronger plea. It is never hinted by Cicero, Quintilian, or any Latin grammarian, that accent in Greek, though placed on different syllables of a word, was a thing in any wise different from accent in Latin. But the Latin accent included the idea of stress; as is plainly proved, both from the living tradition of Latin in the Roman Catholic Church, and from the peculiar character of the accent in modern Italian. Therefore the ancient Greek accent also included the idea of stress: and the modern Greek accent must—even in the absence of the proof by accentual marks—be presumed to be in the main identical with the ancient; and even more like than the Italian accent is like to the Roman, in proportion as the dialect of modern Athens is less adulterated by foreign admixture than the language of modern Rome.

This last fact deserves a separate and distinct contemplation. There is no people in the world of a more tenacious and obstinate vitality than the Greeks. Those who know them best have expressed no unphilosophical apprehension that their extremely intense and self-contained feeling of nationality may act as a great bar to their social progression<sup>1</sup>. Be this as it may: the

<sup>1</sup> See the works *On Byzantine History* by Dr G. FINLAY *passim*.

fact is certain: their whole history exhibits in many points a very unbending stereotype: and this fixed mould is in no department more striking than in the character of their language. If the material of the language is so pure that in the whole compass of a newspaper sheet of four pages it is often very difficult to point out four words that are not of pure Greek origin, what a singular thing were it, if in the single matter of accent, the stability of the linguistic type should have yielded to the laws of an inexplicable caprice? Such freaks may exist; but they must be proved.

I will conclude this division of the subject by adducing a separate and independent proof that ancient Greek accent included stress, or rather, in a very marked and distinct way, contained stress, as a main element; a proof I mean quite separate either from that derived from the practice of the modern Greeks, or that contained in the definitions of the ancient grammarians. It is a well known fact in the doctrine of Greek accents, as laid down by our grammarians, that certain monosyllabic words, which are generally unaccented, do in certain situations, and with certain significations, receive the accent. Thus *ὡς* signifying *as* or *when*, is unaccented; but when it signifies *so* or *thus*, it receives the acute accent. So with *οὐκ*, *τις*, and some others. Now, if these cases be minutely examined, it will be found that in all cases, where these otherwise unaccented syllables receive the accent, the sense which they bear is such, that they must be pronounced with a decided emphasis or stress of the voice; and this is so true, that in English also the corresponding words are emphasized where the Greek words are accented, and lose the emphasis where the Greek word loses its accent. Thus in the English phrase *I dont say so*, the adverb *not*, like the common Greek *οὐκ*, is so completely without emphasis, that it is swallowed up into one word with the verb *to do*, and loses its separate identity, just like the Italian enclitic pronouns; but if I change the phrase, and say—*I say NOT so*—the *not* at once comes out with that marked prominence which the decided expression of volition necessitates; and this very emphasis we find marked in Greek by the super-position of the acute accent. The conclusion from these cases is unavoidable. The Greek accent denoted not only elevation of the note of the sound, but the intension of the

accented syllable with a very decided and marked stress or emphasis.

And now, I think I have sufficiently proved the scientific grounds of my procedure in pronouncing Greek according to accents. But an interesting question remains. If it be such a passing clear point that Greek ought to be pronounced according to accent, how came it ever to be pronounced otherwise? However correct the theory may be, are there not some practical difficulties in the way that have prevented its realization among modern scholars? Now when the present perverse way of reading Greek with Latin accents arose, I cannot curiously state as a matter of chronology; but how it arose I think I can guess pretty surely. When Erasmus, in his famous book on the pronunciation of Greek, published at Basle in the year 1528, unsettled the minds of the learned world which had previously reposed with a firm faith in the living tradition of the Byzantine elders, he left the point of accent untouched, and expressly blames those scholars who confound two such distinct things as accent and quantity, both of which will always be observed by a correct reader. But revolutionary proceedings seldom stop short at the first move. When the conceit had once seized academic men of remodelling the whole vocal scale of Greek orthoepy according to their own local peculiarities or crude crotchets, an opportunity would not long fail of throwing aside also that peculiar intonation and emphasis, which under the name of *τόνος* and *προσῳδία* the Byzantine Greeks had inherited from the Alexandrians. As scholarship became more and more accurate in the nice matter of rhythmical quantity, it could not fail to be observed, that the Byzantine Greeks, in their lectures and other expositions, while they regularly observed the accent, sometimes or often violated the strict quantity of syllables, as laid down by the ancient Prosodians, and deducible from the works of the most classical poets. This observation once made, would, with that hasty logic to which human nature is prone, and especially under the innovating influences of Erasmus, lead by a jump to the conclusion that accent and quantity are incompatible; and as the attention of the highest order of scholars was soon directed with a strong preference to the poetry of the Greeks, where accent is of no value, that habit seems to have arisen, which



has now become universal in England, of systematically neglecting the native Greek accent, and substituting the more easy and familiar Latin accent in its place. But, however convenient for careless schoolmasters and a few minute prosodians this procedure might be, the slightest consideration will shew that it is altogether unscientific, and was quite uncalled for. No doubt the modern Greeks now—and it is to be presumed also in the days of Bishop Gardiner—do in their habitual pronunciation pay no consistent regard to quantity: and the reason of this is obvious enough. Quantity was a matter of musical and of rhetorical indoctrination which naturally fell with the fall of the great schools of music and rhetoric in the first ages of medieval decline. But accent as the real *anima vocis*, to use Diomedes's expression, could not die, so long as the Greek people lived. It therefore survived all the devastating invasions of the Slavonian hordes, the hybrid dynasties of Armenian and Macedonian emperors, and the crushing barbarism of the Turks. But to conclude from this that accent and quantity are incompatible, was a hasty jump, quite unworthy of a scholarly habit of mind. It was the business of modern scholars—what they have done with thorough efficiency—to restore the musical element to the Greek poetry, but not therefore to take away accent from Greek prose. The man who imagines that there is any necessity for lengthening an accented syllable does not know the first elements of the doctrine of the human voice, and is incapable of arguing on this subject. The utmost that can be pleaded in behalf of the present English practice, is that it is more easy and convenient to identify the accent with the long syllables, and for this reason better to pronounce Greek according to the Latin analogy, than with the strict observance of its own laws. This reasoning may satisfy modern scholars who speak Greek only to themselves and to their book-shelves, but I am certain it would not only not have satisfied, but would have appeared supremely ridiculous to Cicero, and Quinctilian, and every Roman gentleman of letters who used the Greek language. One of these writers certainly, whose authority in such matters is the highest possible, brings forward with a marked prominence, the great richness and variety of Greek accent, as compared with the meagre monotony of the Latin\*; but all these rich hues of national colour are to be washed out

\* *Instit. Orat.* I. 5, and XII. 10.

forsooth, to please the indolent or stupid whim of a few gentlemen measuring quantities, who will not give themselves the trouble to speak the Greek sounds with their proper pitch and emphasis, as well as with their proper fulness and extension. Those who can content themselves with such a loose and lazy procedure as this, may do so. I never will. By the practice of several years I have found that the music of the Greek language falls with a quite different character on the ear, when the proper accents are observed; and I can no more tolerate Greek spoken with a Latin accent, than I can hear a Scotchman giving a broad Border drawl to the elegantly clipped French of a Parisian saloon, or a tripping English tongue rattling over deep-mouthed German with the hasty tribrachic rhythm and antepenultimate accent in which our tongue so much delights. But I will now conclude by stating more particularly how I work out the living power of the Greek accent in the actual business of teaching.

In the first place I make a practice of addressing the ears of the student, and not his understanding or memory merely, both in the general character, and in the minutest detail of teaching. I make the student not only read books, but catch up the meaning of sentences spoken by me, with the proper accent and quantity of each syllable. This, any teacher who tries it, will find a matter of no difficulty; as the accents are marked in the books, and the quantities are familiar to one who has tuned his ear by the frequent reading of the poets. Let us take a few examples. I first direct attention to that immense army of words, which are accented on the last syllable, and which our common pronunciation so lamentably curtails of their proper cadence, by throwing back the accent, as in Latin, to the antepenult. Such words as *σκοπός*, *συνεργός*, *ἡγεμονικός*, are pronounced with a sharp distinct emphasis on the last syllable, as in the English word *volunteer* and the German *Theologie*. I then take other oxytone words, but differing from the preceding in having the last syllable long, and I shew that while in *θέα*, *κεφαλή*, and such words, the long quantity of the last syllable is more fully brought out by the Greek accent than by the Latin one, there is on the other hand not the least necessity for pronouncing the last syllable of *σκοπός* long merely because it is accented. I then take that large class of words, also most characteristically Greek in their accent, where the last syllable is long, and unac-

cented, while the penult is short and accented, and I shew that in such words as Ἀριστοτέλης, ἡμέρα, ἔχω, there is nothing more natural than to give the full extension to the final syllable, while a sharp emphatic intonation is given to the short penult. I make it evident, indeed, that, in every form of word, the Latin accent has habitually the effect of cheating the last syllable, not only of its proper accent when accented, but of its proper quantity whether accented or not; and that here, as in many other instances, the existing practice is as hostile to spoken quantity as to spoken accent; and does in fact bristle all over with every sort of self-condemnatory inconsistencies. Thirdly, I shew, that though in such words as ἄνθρωπος, ὄραμα, where the accent is on the antepenult, and the penult short, there may to the untrained English voice be a certain difficulty in giving the full quantity to the penult while the antepenult is accented, yet even to such words there are not wanting English analogies, such as *mānslaughter*; and besides the cases are few, where a little injustice done to the second syllable of such words could mar the student's knowledge of its real quantity, as that is in the great majority of such words marked by a long vowel or a diphthong, or by position, thus, ἔθηκε, στράτευμα, ἐτύφθησαν. I further point out the intimate relation which subsists between quantity and accent, so that the latter when regularly observed necessitates a knowledge of quantity, which accordingly the student brings with him from the accentual reading of prose to the quantitative recitation of poetry.

It will be observed that I proceed thus from the very beginning; and my only practical difficulty consists in this, that even my lowest class, (for I have three gradations\*), consists of young persons who have been accustomed for a year more or less to the vicious reading of Greek with Latin accents before they come to college; and who, therefore, if they are to learn the right way, must first unlearn the wrong. Nevertheless I persevere till I make them understand my Greek address, with every word properly accented. I take care also that in the daily exercises

\* It was long the disgrace of Scottish Universities that even the lowest elements of Greek were taught in the Universities. This practice is now abolished in Edinburgh. In the lowest class I now read

Xenophon, Cebes, Apollodorus, Æsop, Ælian, Homer. In the next class are read—Diodorus, Euripides, Herodotus, Plutarch; in the highest, Pindar, Æschylus, Plato, Aristotle, &c.



in Greek composition the accentuation shall never be treated as a secondary matter, but regularly taken down in the exercise books from a correct pronunciation either by the teacher or some of the more advanced of the taught.

All this supposes what I presume is a good principle in teaching, that a good foundation of the regular prose diction ought to be laid, before proceeding to tune the ear to rhythmical recitation. As soon as the ear is properly tuned to the living accent of Greek prose, I proceed to poetry: and I explain, distinctly, that ancient poetry was constructed not like ours on spoken, but on singing principles; and for this reason the quantitative or musical element was allowed to override the accentual or colloquial, just as in our poetry, by the reverse process, the accentual element has overridden the quantitative. I then shew that in reading Greek poetry the only things to be attended to are the regular beating of the time, and due prolongation of certain syllables: this once understood the accent falls off naturally for the nonce, to be resumed when reading prose, by the force of a continuous training. Some persons may think that the reading by accent in prose will necessarily cause a difficulty in observing the ictus in verse. A slight inconvenience certainly it will cause at first starting; but this inconvenience is felt to a considerable extent even with the present Roman accent, which clashes with the musical beat much oftener than careless readers may be apt to imagine. Under no possible form indeed can the measured musical cadence of the ancient classical poetry be made of easy acquirement to a modern ear trained purely to regard the spoken accent; and accordingly we find that in such a common school-boy exploit as reading a Latin pentameter verse, the last word being a dissyllable continually forces the reader to throw the accent from its natural place on the penult, to the last syllable, where the rhythmical stress lies. But all these difficulties fall to the ground before a vigorous and consistent practice. Those who try will find, that whereas by the present system, accent is not taught at all to the general scholar by the ear, and quantity very imperfectly, by the practice which I have adopted both accent and quantity are taught from the beginning thoroughly. Those who have learned a false accent from the beginning, feel the greatest difficulty in acquiring the true one, while their first notions of quantity according to the present loose habits are ex-

tremely obscure. But the true accent once acquired remains for ever an inalienable possession of the ear in connection with the individual words: while in the recitation of verse it gracefully yields for the need to the dulcet tyranny of musical rhythm.

I have now said all that seems necessary. Objections in matters of this kind can never be properly understood but by experiment. Let him who doubts honestly close with the difficulty; and he will throw it in manly struggle, if it be a reality, or puff it away, if it be a mere fancy, like a cloud.

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

### III.

#### *On a passage in the Muratorian Canon.*

THE obscurities in this ancient Canon can only be cleared up, and even then perhaps but partially, by an endeavour to discover the Greek original, which is now *buried* in the Latin version, barbarous and confused at first, and corrupted by the errors of copyists; and also by the adoption of such critical corrections, as are *required* by the necessity of the case, and *commended* by their fitness,—as supplying such a solution of what had been enigmatic as is fairly satisfactory.

All such critical corrections or conjectures should be so communicated that they may meet the eye of competent scholars; and though each one may add but little, still that little *may* help, or may suggest to others the true solution of a felt difficulty.

As the book “Sapientia” is introduced into this list, (“et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta”), the two points of inquiry are, What may this book be? and what does the sentence itself teach? The Apocryphal book, *Wisdom of Solomon*, is of course that which the sentence at first suggests; but it is not *necessary* that it should be so understood; for this name was in the second century applied also to the Proverbs, as we see in Melito, Παροιμίαι ἡ καὶ Σοφία. Thus I was accustomed to regard the reference as being to the Proverbs, and to explain the latter part of the sentence by the fact, that a portion of the Proverbs was written out by “the men of Hezekiah,” or as it is given in the

LXX., οἱ φίλοι Ἐζεκίου (xxv. 1). This seemed to establish a *verba*. connection between the fragment and our book of Proverbs. I do not know whether this had been previously supposed by any investigator of this fragment before I drew attention to the point a few years ago\*: it has however been maintained by Chevalier Bunsen† in his recent *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*.

This may explain the mere words and phrases of the sentence; but still the difficulty would remain, *how* the book of Proverbs, or any part of it, *could* be mentioned in connection with the writings of the New Testament.

Bunsen has indeed suggested, and others have approved of the opinion, that before this sentence the Epistle to the Hebrews had been mentioned as written by some *friend* of St Paul; and that it was said to be received in the same manner as Wisdom written by friends of Solomon.

But there is a sentence in Jerome's Preface to the books of Solomon which may throw light on this sentence, or may receive some from it: he says of the Apocryphal book of Wisdom, "Apud Hebræos nusquam est, quin et ipse stylus Græcam eloquentiam redolet: *et nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Judæi Philonis affirmant.*" I do not remember to have seen this authorship of the book of Wisdom mentioned in any father anterior to Jerome, though I would rather ask, if there are any such statements extant, than rely on what I may recollect: I should however say that for many years I have studied the earlier fathers, and have also investigated the subject of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments, and the reception of the Apocrypha. But

\* I said in 1851, "*what* book is intended, is by no means clear,—whether the apocryphal book, or Proverbs, to which this name of Wisdom was appended in the second century; *a book the latter part of which was written out by 'the men of Hezekiah,'* and of which some chapters are the words of Agur and of King Lemuel."—*Lecture on the Historic Evidence, &c. of the New Testament*, p. 16. (Bagster and Sons). I give this citation in proof that I published this theory of the connection of the passage, independently of recent statements.

† He says, "Sapientiam a veteribus

Proverbia Salomonis dici non est quod uberius exponam, ne lectores ignorantie incusare videar: iis igitur quæ de Sapientia habet Hegesippus [qui hunc Canonem, ut Bunsenio videtur, Græce conscripsit] a Salomonis amicis in ejus honorem conscripta, respicit ad Prov. xxv. 1. αὐταὶ αἱ παιδείαι (αἱ παροιμίαι) Σολομῶντος αἱ ἀδιακριτοί, ἃς ἐξεγράψαντο οἱ φίλοι Ἐζεκίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰουδαίων. Hunc locum male interpretatus Hegesippus, vel non bene memoria recollens, non Ezechie sed Salomonis amicos Sapientie auctores facit."—(*Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. 127, 8).



no doubt Jerome had *some* ground for his assertion: may it not have been *this very sentence* in the Muratorian fragment? The Greek *may* have stood thus:—καὶ ἡ Σοφία Σαλομῶνος ὑπὸ Φίλωνος εἰς τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη. It would be no cause for surprize if the Latin translator made the mistake of confounding Φίλωνος and φίλων, so as to translate *ab amicis* instead of a *Philone*. If Jerome had this or a similar passage before him, he might easily have introduced the epithet *Judæus* by a sort of unconscious amplification from familiarity with the name of *that* Philo.

There are passages in the early part of the book of Wisdom which seem as if they had been written after the introduction of Christianity. It might thus be the production of some uninspired writer by the name of Philo (certainly not to be confounded with the Alexandrian Platonist), who applied the name of Solomon to his work, as if from its ethical character it were written in his honour; and thus it may have found a place amongst the Christian writings in the Muratorian Canon.

Roman Catholic writers, such as Leo Allatius, meet the statement of Jerome, that ancient authors ascribe the book of Wisdom to Philo Judæus, simply by remarking that, if that had been the case, the Church in receiving the book as canonical would have classed it amongst the New Testament Scriptures. Some of them, therefore, accepting Jerome's report, ascribe this book to some other Jew named Philo, anterior to the birth of our Lord.

But I believe that we want more light to be thrown, if possible, on the *history* of the book of Wisdom\*, and on the possibility of tracing it as existing prior to the Christian era. How little early writers knew of the origin of this book, is shewn by the mistake of Augustine in the earlier part of his career as an author, when he attributed it to Jesus the Son of Sirach.

But even if this sentence in the Muratorian fragment ought not to receive the correction which I have suggested, and if the opinion which I *formerly* advanced be considered the better, yet still I think that the statement of Jerome is connected *with this*

\* I have sought for information in what may be considered to be the usual sources; the only result is, that *but little* is

known on the subject: it is still therefore an inquiry, Is there any proof that this book existed before the time of our Lord?

passage; only in that case it would be misunderstood by him. If *ab amicis* be the true rendering of words taken (as I formerly suggested) from Prov. xxv. 1, then the Greek may have been *καὶ ἡ Σοφία Σαλομῶνος ὑπὸ φίλων εἰς τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένη*, and this might have been misread or misapprehended by Jerome, so as to introduce the name of Philo. In that case Hegesippus (or the writer of the Canon whoever he may have been) would have intended the Proverbs, or at least the latter portion of that book, while however Jerome would have understood him to speak of the Apocryphal book of Wisdom\*.

Jerome's eye might easily so deceive him that he might mentally supply the termination to *φίλων*, changing it into *φίλωνος*, unconscious that he added to the words before him; this in early undivided writing is a mistake to which readers are easily obnoxious; or he might have introduced the name of Philo by mere error and want of apprehension; we have proof enough of his mistakes in transfusing Greek words or ideas into Latin: e. g. De Vir. Ill. c. 9: "*Scripsit apocalypsin quam interpretatur Justinus Martyr et Irenæus*," where the words "*quam interpretatur*," which have led some to think of *expositions* of the Apocalypse by these two fathers now lost, are nothing but an incorrect version or entire misapprehension of Eusebius's words *ὡς δηλοῖ*. Bunsen has pointed out (*Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, i. 126) how Jerome did actually misunderstand the words of Eusebius relative to Hegesippus; the same thing had previously been shewn by others. Thus it would not be surprizing if Jerome had misconceived the original Greek of this Fragment.

But even if the book of Wisdom and its author be introduced into the Fragment only by way of comparison, still I regard it *now* as far more probable that it was a recent work by a recent writer, than something ancient and obscure; for comparisons are customarily made with familiar objects: if not so introduced, then I can hardly think that any book could be intended which did not rank as to *date*, at least, with the others that are men-

\* As on this supposition I should restore the Greek differently from Bunsen, (who gives it, *καὶ ἡ Σοφία ὑπὸ φίλων Σαλομῶνος εἰς αὐτοῦ τιμὴν γέγραπται*), I

should not consider that the writer misunderstood Prov. xxv. 1; but that the *translator* had erred as to the connection of the words just as he has in other places.

tioned. Eusebius mentions this book when speaking of Irenæus twice. In the first place (*H. E.* v. 8) in speaking of the writings of the New Testament used by that father, after mentioning most of our Canonical books, he informs us that he quoted from the *Shepherd of Hermas*: καὶ ῥητοῖς δὲ τισὶν ἐκ τῆς Σολομῶνος Σοφίας κέχρηται μονονουχὶ φάσκων ὅρασις δὲ θεοῦ περιποιητικὴ ἀφθαρσίας, “ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ.” (These latter words are those which are cited μονονουχί, almost expressly, from Sap. vi. 19. The passage in Iren. is *C. H.* iv. 38). Eusebius goes on to say that he also cited an apostolic presbyter whom he does not name, and that he mentioned Justin Martyr and Ignatius, and also the doctrines of Marcion. He then informs us what Irenæus had said about the LXX. version. Thus the Wisdom of Solomon stands in Eusebius’s arrangement in a peculiar place; he brings it in after the New Testament books, and between the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the writings of Justin. In the other place (v. 26) where he speaks of the writings of Irenæus, he brings in together the Epistle to the Hebrews and that called the *Wisdom of Solomon*, as being mentioned and cited by that father. Hence there must have been some cause which led Eusebius, or other earlier authors whom he may have followed, to speak of this book amongst Christian writings, much as it is introduced in the Muratorian fragment. Thus I believe it to be the far more probable opinion that the writer of the Muratorian Canon spoke of the *authorship* of this book, and that Jerome followed him, so as to preserve the true reading of his original Greek, in mentioning the name of PHILO\*.

Bunsen, in stating his grounds for ascribing the Muratorian fragment to Hegesippus, gives reasons for supposing that it had been read and used by Jerome, referring to the account which it gives of the origin of St John’s Gospel. The points on which I have now rested (whichever view be taken of the passage in question) afford an independent ground (and therefore confirmatory) for holding that opinion. Each set of coincidences upholds the other†.

\* I do not enter on the inquiry which might arise as to the connection of *ipsius* (“in honorem ipsius”) farther than to say that perhaps it is αὐτῆς; the book being written in honour of Wisdom.

This point is really distinct from my present investigation.

† And any thing of the kind meets the peculiar view suggested by Thiersch: —“Wir würden noch der Vermuthung



The Canon of the New Testament is a subject of such importance to Christian students that all elucidation of the earliest list, the Muratorian fragment, has its value. There have been times when it was an anxious inquiry, what are the divinely inspired books which constitute Holy Scripture? This was the case after the Diocletian persecution, when the guilt of the *traditores* was in question: it was so at the Reformation, and it is so again *now*. The questions of the *first* of these three periods suggested the extracts and remarks on the subject, and the classification of books according to the manner of their reception, of which we find so much that is valuable in Eusebius. In the contests at the time of the Reformation, the need of defining the Canon led the Roman Catholic Church at Trent to receive as divine so many of the Apocryphal books; while, as to the *New Testament*, it is well known what various opinions prevailed as to a few of the later books. And *this*, I have long believed, led our Reformers to adopt a wisely cautious form of expression, "All the books of the New Testament, *as they are commonly received*, we do receive, and account them canonical" (Art. vi). They had, I believe, *themselves* no doubts as to *any* of the twenty-seven books; but they *knew* what doubts and difficulties were felt by others as to a few of them; and thus by the expression "as they are commonly received" they met the conditions of Christian opinion. Words were adopted which might apply to him who received the books *in general*, but who might be as yet unsatisfied as to the external testimony to some particular writing. Now while I believe that we have sufficient evidence as to *each* of the New Testament books, I consider that something in present discussions may be learned from the cautious language of the Reformers.

*Now* the question of the Canon is discussed in connection with the manner in which all objective Christianity, as a religion based on attested and recorded *facts*, is assailed in differing ways. And hence the importance is felt of distinctly shewing

nachgehen, dass das Ganze zu einer Zeit ins Lateinische übersetzt worden sei, in welcher sich die *lingua rustica* bereits ziemlich stark geltend machte, wären nicht manche Corruptionen der Art, dass sie uns fast wie ein *Scherz* vorkommen und schon mehrmals den Verdacht in uns

erweckten, ob nicht das ganze Fragment eine spasshafte *Mystification* des Herausgebers Muratori sein könnte?" (*Versuch zur Herstellung*. 317). A latent coincidence or undeveloped connection could not have been found in an invention.

the definite *proofs* of the reception and use of most of the New Testament writings back to the very age of the contemporaries of the Apostles. If, as to a *few* books, the evidence is *comparatively* weak, as to *all the rest* it is overwhelmingly strong; and this must be seen by all who are willing to look. And as to all the *twenty-seven* books, their claims will be, I fully believe, upheld, not by dogmatic *assertion*, but by calm and cautious process of proof. If subjective fancies are allowed to contradict objective facts, argument is vain; but to those who will listen to *evidence*, the Muratorian Canon is alone sufficient to answer not a few of the modern sceptical theories.

S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES.

### *Postscript.*

It may be needful to give proof that the Apocryphal book of Wisdom was *early* known by its present title, *Wisdom of Solomon*.

Valesius, on Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8, says:—"Quippe veteres omnes ecclesiastici scriptores Sapientiam Salomonis appellant librum illum qui hodie Proverbia inscribitur. Liber autem ille qui titulum Sapientiæ Salomonis hodie præfert, *ψευδεπίγραφος* est teste Hieronymo, quamvis Eusebii ætate ita appellaretur." Hence it seems that some have thought that the name Wisdom of Solomon was *never* at a more remote period applied to this book; and if so, of course it could not be intended by the passage in the Muratorian fragment.

Tertullian, however, says: "Porro facies Dei expectatur in simplicitate quærendi, ut docet ipsa *Sophia*, non quidem Valentini, sed *Salomonis*." (*Adv. Valent.* II). Elsewhere (e.g. *De Præscr. Hæret.* VII) he speaks of this book as the work of Solomon. So too Clement of Alexandria, who several times quotes this book under the name of Solomon, *Strom.* VI. 11, 14, 15, (pp. 786, 795, 800, Potter), and more often as *Σοφία*.

While it is fully admitted that the book of Proverbs was in the second century designated *Σοφία*, it may be asked whether there is any proof that it was ever called *Σοφία Σαλομῶνος*: Tertullian expressly, and Clem. Alex. by implication, give this latter name to the Apocryphal book of Wisdom, so that it must have been so known about the end of the second century.

## IV.

*The Egyptian month Adrian.*

IN the "Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society," pl. 52, is an astrological notice, to which is attached the date

L.  $\bar{A}$ . Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου μηνὸς Ἀδριανοῦ Η, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχαίους Τυβὶ  $\bar{I}\bar{H}$ .

By the phrase κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους is meant the old, vague calendar, which is known (from Vettius Valens and other authorities) to have been used by astrologers. On this Letronne (*Inscr. Gr.* II. 378) remarks:

"In the year 4 Antonini = 141, 2 A.D. the 1 Thoth vague is 17 July, therefore 1 Tybi vague is 14 Nov. But 8 Adrian being here identified with 18 Tybi vague, we have 1 Adrian = 10 Tybi = 23 Nov. = 27 Athyr of the fixt calendar. Now here is this singular circumstance—the month Adrian, introduced by Egyptian adulation, does not correspond with the whole of an Egyptian fixt month, but with the four last days of one and the first twenty-six of another. One can understand the substitution of the name Adrian for the name of some one entire month, just as Julius and Augustus took the place of the ancient Quintilis, Sextilis; but why make this month begin on the 27th of a fixt month?" Letronne thinks this matter is explained by the well-known epigram of Balbilla (and Balbinus) on the Memnon, in which it is recorded that the empress Sabina heard the voice of the statue on the 24th and 25th of Athyr. "Probably this would be on one of the earliest days after the emperor's arrival at Thebes. His residence there occasioned great rejoicings, and the day of the principal celebration may have been made the commencement of a month of thirty days called Adrian: i.e. thirty days beginning 27 Athyr were made *eponymous*."

The *fourth* year of Antoninus Pius—which Letronne here reads by mistake for the *first* year ( $\bar{\Delta}$  for  $\bar{A}$ )—bears date in the Roman reckoning from 10 July A.D. 141; in the Egyptian, with which we are here concerned, from the 1 Thoth of A.D. 140, which in the Alexandrine or civil reckoning was 29 Aug., in the



vague year (Æ. Nab. 888) = 19 July. Its 1 Tybi vague was therefore 16 (not 14) Nov. A. D. 140 (and the same in A. D. 141).

Also, "8 *Adrian*" being 18 Tybi, 1 *Adrian* was (not 10, but) 11 Tybi, which day in both those years was 26 Nov., answering to 30 (not 27) Athyr of the fixt calendar.

But the year noted in the inscription is the *first* of Antoninus, which in the Roman reckoning began 10 Jul. A. D. 138, but in the Alexandrine in the preceding 1 Thoth, i. e. 29 Aug. 137, and in the Astronomical Canon on the 20 July 137 (= 1 Thoth. of Æ. Nab. 885). That the reign of Antoninus forms no exception to the invariable principle of the Egyptian civil reckoning, is proved by the series of Egyptian coins, by which the 22nd Egyptian year of Hadrian is identified with the 1st of his successor. Yet if this inscription was written, as it probably was, immediately after the conjuncture to which it refers, the year intended could not be A. D. 137, since in that year Hadrian was yet living. Perhaps, the writer of the inscription was led to refer the 18 Tybi of the year 138 to the first of Antoninus by the circumstance, that the death of Hadrian was not known in Egypt until after the 1 Thoth (vague) of that year (Æ. Nab. 886); which 1 Thoth he therefore marked as the epoch of 1 Antoninus, regardless of the fact that in the civil reckoning the first year of the new reign included only the brief interval between the proclamation of Antoninus's accession and the fixt 1 Thoth = 29 August. However this may be, in either of the years 137, 138, the 1 Thoth vague being 20 July, the 11 Tybi was 27 Nov., which day in the fixt calendar was 1 Chœak. Consequently, the month here called *Adrian* exactly coincided with the month Chœak of the fixt calendar. And, as there seems to be no earlier mention of the new-named month, it is probable that the name was given, not in adulation to the living emperor on the occasion supposed by Letronne, viz. of Hadrian's residence in Egypt in the year 130, but after his decease, and as an ascription of divine honours. We know that at Rome the decree for the deification of Hadrian was reluctantly yielded to the urgent request of Antoninus. "*Nec appellatus esset divus, nisi Antoninus rogasset*" (Æl. Spartian. *Vit. Hadrian.*). "*Etiam repugnantibus cunctis, inter divos eum retulit*" (Jul. Capit. *Vit. Antonin. P.*). "*Senatus ei tribuere noluit divinos honores: tamen cum successor ipsius T. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus hoc vehementer exigeret, et universi senatores palam resisterent, tandem*

obtinuit" (Eutrop. viii.). Aurelius Victor (*de Cæs.*) even represents that "ne principis oratu quidem ad divi honorem eidem deferendum (patres) flectebantur"—a mistake, for Antoninus is styled on his monument "divi Hadriani filius". But this is clear, that the decree was obtained with difficulty; the readiness, therefore, with which the divine honours were accorded in Egypt, and this, too, in the unusual form of an enrolment among the deities of the months, would be the more gratifying to Antoninus, and the adulation was to the living rather than to the deceased emperor. It may be, that the month *Chæak* was selected for this purpose for the reason suggested by Letronne, namely, because it was during that month (of the year 130) that Hadrian's presence in Egypt had been celebrated by great rejoicings. But if Jablonsky is right in his conclusion, that the 11 Tybi was the day of the great festival, the *Inventio Osiridis*, a different and more striking reason is furnished by the concurrence of that day in the vague year with the first day of a month of the fixt year. For it is probable that the festivals of Osiris and Isis were still celebrated on the days of the vague year to which they belonged. If so, the first day of the month Adrian coincided in the year of its institution with the great annual festival, and the εὐρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν, heard throughout Egypt on that day, would be capable of a significant reference to the deified Hadrian.

HENRY BROWNE.

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V.

*On the Date of the Composition of Herodotus's History.*

THE substance of the following paper was written in the form of notes for lectures several years ago. When Mr Grote's fourth volume appeared, I was confirmed in my general views by the judgment of so eminent an authority; and I supposed that he had settled the question for ever (though on grounds somewhat different from mine), when behold, another authority scarcely less eminent starts up to advocate the contrary side.

The point in dispute is a theory respecting the date of the composition of Herodotus's History, which has been sanctioned

by Clinton, elaborated by Dahlmann, quoted with approval in the Classical Museum, adopted with unquestioning faith by the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, and finally re-asserted and defended by Colonel Mure. The passage to which I refer is in Col. Mure's fourth volume, page 245, and Appendix G; and as all his predecessors' arguments are there repeated and enforced with new ones, I will take this as the last and the most complete statement of the case.

"That Herodotus survived to nearly the close of the fifth century B. C. may be inferred from passages of his work where he seems incidentally to mention transactions which took place as late as the year 408 B. C."

The passages to which reference is here made are only two in number.

The first occurs in Book I. chapter 130 :

Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκνυσαν Πέρσῃσι... ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου· ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες.

It is asserted by the authorities above named that Herodotus here refers to a rebellion of the Medes mentioned by Xenophon (*Hellenica*, I. 2) as having occurred in the reign of Darius Nothus, in the year 408 B. C.

Now if I were defending my case as a lawyer, I should put in two pleas :

1. That the words ὑστέρω... νικηθέντες were not written by Herodotus, and

2. That the Darius therein named is Darius son of Hy-staspis.

But not being a lawyer, and having therefore the privilege of confining my assertions to what I believe to be true, I allow freely that there is no sufficient ground for doubting—though some have doubted—the genuineness of the words in question. Nevertheless if it could be proved that the Darius here mentioned is Darius Nothus, then I should hold it to be far more probable that the marginal note of a commentator had been incorporated with the text than that Herodotus lived to write it. But I have a strong conviction of the validity of my second plea. I cannot do better than adopt Col. Mure's summing up of what he candidly admits to be "very reasonable objections to his own view:" that in a narrative in which the first Darius son



of Hystaspis alone appears as a contemporary actor, and in every other part of which the name Darius when introduced in this simple form without distinctive title or surname is exclusively appropriated to him, Herodotus was not likely in one single instance to have applied that name in the same familiar manner to a sovereign who flourished fifty years later, and whose reign lay altogether beyond the limits of the historian's subject.

Add to this that no other person bearing the name of Darius except the son of Hystaspis is mentioned by Herodotus in any part of his work, and our case seems to me to be already proved. But let us hear Col. Mure's reply:

"Had Herodotus known of any general insurrection of the Medes during the usurpation of Smerdis, or of any great battle in which they were subdued" [observe, Col. Mure is responsible for the epitheton ornans in each of the phrases "general insurrection," "great battle"] "it seems incredible that he should not only have suppressed all mention of such very important events in the otherwise detailed narrative given by him of the same usurpation, but should have embodied that narrative in a form implying that he was totally ignorant of those events."

Now there is nothing in Herodotus's words which at all implies that he connected this revolt of the Medes with the usurpation of Smerdis. His commentators have done that for him. It is clear that he regarded it as an event which took place in the reign of Darius—ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου—consequently after the death of Smerdis; and probably he had heard nothing more about the time and the manner of it than he has here mentioned. And, if that were the case, there was no reason, especially as it had no connection with his main subject, why he should allude to it again. It was an event assuredly of small importance as concerned the Greeks, whatever may have been its influence on Persian affairs. Of that we have no means of judging. We do not know that the revolt was "general" or the final battle "great." In that case even, we need not be surprized at the slight notice accorded to it by Herodotus. In all times, and more particularly while history depends on oral tradition, events obtain a celebrity quite out of proportion with their relative importance. Some facts germinate into fable, others crumble into oblivion. A single circumstance so romantic as the disguise of

Smerdis attracts the popular imagination and becomes the groundwork of a marvellous tale; an event so common as an unsuccessful rebellion, if it were unmarked by any daring exploit or hairbreadth escape of prince or chieftain, would not be a subject on which either side would care to dwell.

It would be foreign to our present purpose to inquire how far Heeren and Grote are right in supposing that beneath the fable of Smerdis there lurks the historical truth of a Median insurrection headed by their Magi—it is however abundantly clear that Herodotus knew nothing of it. And in that case they are bound to admit a second revolt of the Medes during the reign of the first Darius, which is doubtless the same to which our historian refers—for in the famous Behistun Inscription “many provinces of the empire (I quote Col. Mure’s words), that of Media included, are described as having revolted against Darius *shortly after* his accession.” Col. Mure dismisses this evidence against his own case with a curious *petitio principii*: “But Herodotus shows no knowledge of those transactions!”

Again, if we refer to the phraseology of the clause, *μετεμέλησέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι*, would not any reader, unencumbered with a theory, conclude that the author supposed that some at least of the generation of Medes which submitted to Cyrus survived to revolt from Darius? “They repented.” Such a phrase is intelligible if the interval were 35 or 40 years even, but would be most unnatural if it were 150. Would any historian, speaking of the Irish Rebellion of 1798, say that “the Irish *repented* of their submission to Cromwell?”

Let us now turn to the passage in which Xenophon mentions the other insurrection of the Medes under Darius Nothus:

Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. *Hellenics*, B. I. ch. 2, fin.

There is no allusion to a battle here. Indeed the word *προσεχώρησαν* would be an inadequate term whereby to describe a forcible subjugation. We should rather infer that their return to obedience was voluntary: probably the king offered concessions and they “came to terms.”

On all these grounds, then, I conclude that the passage of Herodotus refers not to the revolt in 408 B.C. but to a revolt which took place about a hundred and ten years earlier.

The second passage we have to discuss is in Book III. ch. 15.

Τιμῶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν ἦν καὶ σφεων ἀποστέωσι ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν· πολλοῖσι μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοις ἐστι σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιέειν ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε, τῷ Λίβυος Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρα, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Πανσίρι, καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ τε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοὶ κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο.

Dahlmann and the others interpreted this installation of Pausiris in his father's government as having occurred after the death of the latter, which event Eusebius, on the authority of Manetho, places in 408 B.C. They assume the Amyrtæus who died in 408 B.C. to have been the same with the Amyrtæus who in conjunction with Inarus rebelled against Artaxerxes in 462 B.C., and in 456 B.C., on the defeat and execution of his ally, retired within the impregnable shelter of the lagoons, and is hence known to Thucydides by the title of ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλεύς.

Against this supposition Mr Grote argues that it is very improbable that the same person who in 462 B.C. had been of sufficient age to concert a great rebellion should nearly fifty years afterwards have strength and courage left to carry a similar enterprize to a successful issue.

To this Col. Mure replies by quoting as instances of royal longevity George the Third of England and Louis Quinze. This however is not quite a parallel case, for neither George nor Louis at the age of seventy-three (for Amyrtæus could not be less) would have had much chance of leading an army to victory and recovering a lost kingdom. And the chances certainly are that by that time Amyrtæus would have fallen into dotage or Dubarriage.

Col. Mure further stigmatizes this duplication of Amyrtæi as a "hackneyed expedient." If the dividing of one name between two persons be a hackneyed expedient with modern critics, it is only because the confounding of two persons under one name has been a hackneyed error with ancient authorities. For my own part, I think it quite possible, though scarcely probable, that the Amyrtæus in question was one person, and not two. I am quite willing to assume that the Amyrtæus who retired into



the marshes in 456 was the same who reconquered Egypt in 414, and died in 408 B. C.

The whole discussion seems to me to be foreign to our real subject, and I only mention it because the strength of the case on each side has been made (erroneously as I think) to rest on this particular point; viz. the unity or duality of "Amyrtæus."

I will not question the degree of respect to which Manetho is entitled as quoted at second, or third, hand; I will not inquire whether Africanus or Eusebius has represented his dates the more accurately. I am content to meet the gallant Colonel and his allies on ground of their own choosing. If I mistake not I have a certain masked battery in the background which commands their position.

Let me quote Col. Mure's own words in reference to this passage:

"The second text appealed to as evidence of the late period down to which the historian continued to write is that where he mentions the death of the Egyptian king Amyrtæus &c."

Now after reading the chapter carefully a score of times, I can find *no mention of the death* of Amyrtæus. This death is an unwarranted inference of commentators. The one party has shortened the life of Amyrtæus as unduly as the other has prolonged the life of Herodotus. And upon this false assumption both parties have been doing battle—pace tantorum virorum dixerim—for the sake of a position which was neither worth attacking nor defending.

It was, I maintain, after the defeat of Amyrtæus and his consequent retirement among the marshes, i. e. in 456 or 455 B. C., that the Persians placed his son Pausiris in the office which his father had filled previous to 462 B. C. After the death of Amyrtæus in 408, the Persians had no more power to appoint a governor of Egypt than the English had to appoint a president of the United States after the death of Washington. For all the authorities, which have been arrayed against us by the other side, Manetho, Eusebius, Syncellus, Diodorus, agree in stating that after the recovery of Egypt by Amyrtæus, that country continued for sixty-five years independent of Persia. Nephertites, a Mendesian, the first king of the 29th dynasty, succeeds to the throne *immediately* on the demise of Amyrtæus, according to Manetho's list as reported by Syncellus, and quoted by Fynes Clinton, *F. H.* Vol. II. Appendix C. 18, note *u*.

Col. Mure, whose whole case rests on Manetho, (and who yet, as we have seen, disregards Manetho's testimony to the *immediate* succession of Nephertites on the decease of Amyrtæus,) has to meet the difficulty that the name of Pausiris does not occur in Manetho's list. He meets it thus: "Manetho would naturally exclude from his list of independent Egyptian sovereigns one who had placed himself in the position of a mere satrap of the Persian emperor." (sic).

But if, as Col. Mure must necessarily assume, the Persians had recovered Egypt on the death of Amyrtæus, and if Manetho had been induced by a puerile national vanity to ignore the fact, he would have been utterly unworthy of credit in this or any other matter. But there is no ground for such a charge. I find that he faithfully records the dynasty of the Persian kings of Egypt from Cambyses to Darius II., and, as faithfully, the Persian dynasty restored after sixty-five years of independence. If the Persians had appointed Pausiris king under them on his father's death, we should have found recorded by Manetho, not Pausiris certainly, but Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Col. Mure goes on to say, "this passage of Herodotus affords also a further argument that the Amyrtæus of Manetho and of Herodotus are the same. For it is certain that the government of Egypt was never given by the Persians to an Egyptian vassal-king during the previous period."

The proposition respecting the identity of this Amyrtæus and that I do not care either to affirm or to deny; this passage of Herodotus affording, as I think I have shewn, no argument one way or the other. But if it were indeed "certain" that the Persians had never allowed any vassal-king to reign in Egypt or any part thereof previous to 408 B. C., then Col. Mure might have saved himself the trouble of discussing the passage at all in reference to its author's age; the question is settled at once. But considering the scantiness of our information, and the fact that Manetho, our great authority, according to his plan enumerates only the Persian kings, omitting all mention of native Meleks allowed to reign as vassals, not even naming the Persian governor-general of the province, I cannot see how he is justified in affirming it as "certain." But in Sharpe's *History of Egypt*, Vol. I. p. 132 sqq. I find it stated that Egypt was governed under Darius and Xerxes by native Meleks, of whom Amasis,

Nephra and Mandothph<sup>h</sup> are enumerated in succession. Mr Sharpe appeals to Burton's *Excerpta* as authority for the statement. Even in the absence of any positive authority, we should be justified in concluding that the Persians treated Egypt in the 5th century B. C. according to the system which they confessedly pursued to other countries at that same time, and to Egypt itself afterwards.

This interpretation is, I think, borne out by the phraseology of the passage in Herodotus ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Observe the singular number, as if the appointment of the sons of Inaros and Amyrtæus to the respective governments which their fathers had held was but one act, which occurred as soon as the rebellion was quelled, immediately after the death of the one and the flight of the other.

Again, in the clause καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ τε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοί κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο, the double copulative τε καὶ seems to imply that the "mischiefs" Herodotus has in view were done by Inaros and Amyrtæus in conjunction.

Col. Mure mentions in a note that the Chev. Bunsen agrees with him as to the unity of "Amyrtæus," which, as I have endeavoured to shew, has nothing really to do with the point under discussion here. The Chevalier has not, so far as I know, expressed any opinion as to the age of Herodotus.

I am glad to find that, with regard to this the main question, Mr Blakesley, the last editor of Herodotus, has come to the same conclusion as myself, and so decidedly that he has not thought it necessary to combat the opposite opinion at length. So that if I err, I err in good company.

There is one more passage of Herodotus from which I think an inference may very justly be drawn—though I know not that any one has yet done so—in support of the side I am advocating. That passage is in Book II. ch. 140, where he narrates how the blind king Anysis took refuge in the very island which Amyrtæus subsequently found out and also took refuge in, and how, fifty years afterwards, Anysis again took possession of the throne. Had Herodotus lived to see Amyrtæus issue forth and reconquer Egypt, would he have abstained from noticing this remarkable completion of the parallel between them? Assuredly not.

At the risk of repeating what has been already said, I will briefly sum up what I hold to have been the main facts as to this Egyptian revolt.



In the year 462 B. C. Egypt was governed under the Persians by several native Meleks, a division familiar to them under the "dodekarchy" of the previous century, Amyrtæus being Melek, græcè βασιλεύς, of Lower Egypt or part of it, and Inaros being in like manner Melek of the district west of the Nile. These two having joined in insurrection and defeated Achæmenes, Inaros assumed the title of king of Egypt (Diodorus, xi. 75, κατέστησαν βασιλεία τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἰνάρῳ), Amyrtæus, doubtless, stipulating for an extension of dominion and power. Probably both belonged to the family of the last native dynasty, as Inaros was son of a Psammitichus\*, and Psammenitus, who was defeated by Cambyses, is also called Amyrtæus.

After a struggle of six years, the war terminated by the death of Inaros, and the flight of Amyrtæus. The Persians then gave the district which each had ruled respectively before the revolt to his son, sending Sarsamas as satrap or governor-general of Egypt (Ctesias, ch. 35) doubtless with supreme authority over the native Meleks; the same office with which Achæmenes had been invested by Xerxes, and which Herodotus would have expressed by ἐπίτροπος (cf. Herod. vii. 7, Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρως ὁ Ψαμμίτιχου).

After carefully examining all the authorities on the subject, Thucydides (i. 104, 109, sqq.), Diodorus (xi. 71—76), Ctesias (xi. 32, sqq.) and the others as quoted above, I cannot find anything which makes against the account I have given. It is true that I cannot point out any passage in which it is distinctly stated that Amyrtæus was a vassal-king before the revolt of 462 B. C., but I hold it to be implied in the passage of Herodotus which we have been discussing; and the accounts of the whole affair are so brief and so incidental, that we need not be surprised at their silence; especially as Inaros was the acknowledged leader of the insurrection, and so long as he lived played so much more important a part that he obscured the fame of his coadjutors. And the adoption of this hypothesis will make all clear in the chronology of Herodotus's life, and make perfectly plain many things which would otherwise stand in our path as mountains of difficulty.

It has thus been shewn that there are no positive statements in the work of Herodotus which prove it to have been in progress

\* He is himself called Psammitichus in the Scholium to Arist. Pax. 716.

so late as 408 B. C., and no one has pretended to discover any indirect allusions tending to prove the same point; I will now shew, as briefly as I can, that there are abundant reasons to be deduced both from what Herodotus says, and from what he does not say, proving that he must have concluded his work at a much earlier period.

The latest events distinctly mentioned by Herodotus are, 1. the surprise of Platæa by Eurymachus, which took place in 431 B. C. (Herod. VII. 233); and 2. the murder of the Spartan ambassadors and Aristæas of Corinth, which happened in 430 B. C. Herod. VII. 137.

The 131st chapter of Book VI. wherein Pericles's greatness is said to have been foretold in a dream to his mother, was probably written after the death of that statesman, when the violent hostility and shameful accusations of which he was all his life the mark and almost the victim, were forgotten, and the violent reaction of popular adoration was finding its expression in marvellous legend—ἐπὶ τὸ μυθωδὲς ἐκνευικηκός. A great minister of a free state, however trusted in emergencies, and for a brief hour the idol of the people, is for the most part an object of hatred and envy, and is happy if he escape the fate which befel De Witt and threatened Guizot. Extinctus amabitur idem. Even he whom we call Cœur de Lion was addressed in his life-time by the Troubadour Bertram de Born as "Oui et non," "Shilly-shally."

This same passage must also, I think, have been written before Alcibiades came into prominence, else the author would hardly have abstained from mentioning him along with the other members of the great house from which he sprang.

A passage in Book VI. c. 98 has been cited as proving that Herodotus outlived Artaxerxes, who died in 425 B. C. in December, according to Clinton. After mentioning the earthquake of Delos which preceded the first Persian invasion, he says: ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστασπέος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξεω τοῦ Ξέρξεω τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενέων ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας, τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων αὐτῇ γεγόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτέων τῶν κορυφαίων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμεόντων.

I do not at all feel as confident as Dahlmann in affirming that the reign of Artaxerxes is here spoken of as past. The words would, it appears to me, be equally applicable, if the historian were writing towards the close of his long reign.

There is also another passage, the more important as occurring in a *subsequent* book, which induces me to think that this was written before the death of Artaxerxes in 425. I allude to B. VII. c. 114, where Ἐννέα ὁδοί is mentioned without any hint of its identity with the Amphipolis, which became the centre of interest for all Greeks in 424—422 B. C. Therefore I conclude that the seventh book was completed before that time.

I forbear to enter into the discussion which has arisen out of the above chapter of the sixth book as to how we are to reconcile the statement of Herodotus that "Delos was shaken" just before the Persian war and never after, with that of Thucydides (II. 8) that it was shaken just before the Peloponnesian war for the first time. Perhaps both reports had their origin in popular fears, and Thucydides had never heard of the one nor Herodotus of the other.

The passage (B. IX. c. 73) which Dahlmann refers to the fortification of Decelæa in 413 B. C. cannot possibly bear such an interpretation. Ἀποσχεῖσθαι is the oddest word for "seizing and fortifying" that could be devised. This is tacitly abandoned by Col. Mure, and indeed it was utterly untenable. The reference beyond all question is to the invasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians at the commencement of the war.

Besides this there is no passage in all the work from which the ingenuity of critics has succeeded in extracting even the remotest allusion to any event between 425 B. C. and 408 B. C. Is it not incredible that a writer like Herodotus, who in the fulness of his heart tells his readers all he knows and all he thinks, should have passed over the events of that most stirring time in absolute silence?

Herodotus was no pedant, no would-be philosopher, absorbed or affecting to be absorbed in studies of the past, and indifferent to the present. He would not have professed "*se studere malle*" within sight of the flames of Vesuvius, or within hearing of the cannon of Leipsic. We may be sure that he followed with keen interest the varying phases of that great struggle, which the world follows with keen interest still, the Peloponnesian war. Perhaps, however, he did not live to see the climax of its interest in the Sicilian expedition. Certainly he had ceased to write before then, otherwise it would have been alluded to somewhere.



Had he known of the Sicilian slaughter, would a defeat of the Tarentines and Rhegines, wherein 3000 of the one fell and he does not know how many of the other, have been termed by him φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν? (B. VII. 170.) Most certainly not.

The 78th Chapter of the fifth Book was no doubt written while the Athenians were still not only τῶν σφεάς περιρικούντων τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους, but μακρῷ πρῶτοι.

The prophetic words of Miltiades in B. VI. c. 109, were without question recorded by Herodotus while they were still apposite, while Athens was still πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολιῶν.

It would be easy to produce many more passages to prove that Herodotus was writing while Athens was still prospering and victorious, but these will suffice. It only remains for me to state briefly the conclusion which I draw from them, and from a careful examination of the Author's works: viz. that Herodotus nowhere alludes to an event later than the years 431—429, and that the events of those years are alluded to only in the latter books—an additional reason, if such were needed, for doubting that the words in I. 130 and III. 15, which we have discussed, refer to so late a period as 408. The earlier books then were completed in their present form before the Peloponnesian war began, and the latter not many years after.

In proving (as I trust I have done) my point as to the date of Herodotus's work, I have rested the case entirely on internal evidence. The external evidence, such as it is, goes clearly against the *post*-daters. The statement quoted from Pamphila's *ὑπομνήματα* by Aulus Gellius (*N. A.* xv. 23) that Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war; the fact recorded by Plutarch (*An seni sit gerenda*, *Resp.* 785 B.) that in 440 Herodotus was sufficiently famous to be thought worthy of an ode from Sophocles; the strong probability that Sophocles, about the same time, in the *Antigone* (905 sqq.), referred to the story told by Herodotus (III. 119); the testimony of Dionysius (*De Thucyd. Judic.* VI. 5) Ἡρόδοτος γενόμενος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τῶν Περσικῶν παρεκτείνας δὲ μέχρι τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, i.e. "born before the Persian he reached up to the Peloponnesian war," not "lived over it," observe;—all these go to establish the proposition for which I have contended, and might be enforced with corroborative circumstances, were it not that

this paper has already extended beyond the limits I had prescribed myself at its commencement.

As I have been throughout impugning a particular opinion of Col. Mure, I will not conclude without expressing my great admiration for his work in general, and the deep sense which I entertain of the obligations which, by his acuteness and independent judgment, he has conferred upon ancient literature.

W. G. CLARK.

P. S. The last number of Schneidewin's *Philologus*, dated 1854, but only just published, contains an article *über Herodot's Lebenszeit* which I did not see till after my own paper had been sent to press. The writer, M. Schöll, with regard to the question discussed above, comes to the same conclusion as Mr Grote, on the same grounds.

W. G. C.

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## VI.

### *Nicomachean Ethics, Book V: Eudemian Ethics, Book IV.*

1. On Chapter 8, with reference to *Journal of Philology*, Vol. I, p. 344.

I OFFER no apology to the distinguished person who I am given to understand is the writer of the paper here examined for calling his statements in question, feeling sure that controversy if carried on in a friendly spirit can only serve to promote the interests of truth, and that if I fail to refute his arguments they will thereby receive additional confirmation. My simplest plan will be I think first to give my own explanation of the principal passages under discussion, and afterwards to examine H. L. M.'s remarks, as my view of the case whether right or wrong will be thus more readily apprehended.

In the preceding chapter the author whom I believe to be Eudemus has been explaining in a somewhat formal manner the nature of distributive and corrective justice. The former he

illustrates by geometrical, the latter by what he calls arithmetical proportion. Distributive justice assigns in due proportion to the more worthy the larger, to the less worthy the smaller share of honour, wealth, &c.;  $A : B :: C : D$ , A and B being the persons, C and D the rewards. Corrective justice is no respecter of persons; it matters not whether it is a good man who has cheated a bad man or a bad man who has defrauded a good man; in both cases the wrong is to be redressed according to arithmetical proportion. The eighth chapter treats of a third kind of justice, τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, the *lex talionis*, retaliation, reciprocity or the principle of like for like. This though agreeing neither with distributive nor with corrective justice combines in some measure the characteristics of both. The relative worth of the persons is to be taken into account, not in order to award to one more, to another less; but in order to calculate the value of their productions or the degree in which a benefit or an injury severally affects them, for the purpose of determining the amount of exchangeable produce or of requital which each must receive before equality is established between them. While the first two kinds of justice regulate the conduct of the state towards its different members, the latter determines the relation which shall subsist between individuals, between man and man, in their dealings with one another. Though the author develops this principle chiefly in its relation to commercial exchange, he says that it applies equally to the requital either of a benefit or of an injury; in short to every kind of πολιτικὴ κοινωνία, that is of mutual dealing between men considered as social beings. This I will illustrate by an example taken from the *Great Ethics*. A slave gives a freeman a blow; the *lex talionis* is not satisfied by the slave receiving a blow in return; A, the freeman : B, the slave :: C, an injury done to A : D, an injury done to B. Say that A is ten times the value of B, then a blow given to A is ten times as great as a blow given to B. You must therefore increase D ten times before you have a right to join diagonally, κατὰ διάμετρον συζευγνύναι, which represents the case after requital when the parties have been put on an equality. A, the freeman, after he has received satisfaction and thus been equalised with B : D, the blow multiplied ten times :: B, after he is punished and so equalised with A : C, the blow given to A; or alternando  $A : B :: D : C ::$ , if you please, 1 : 1. The argument may be somewhat obscure and clumsy; I



will speak of that by and bye; but the general meaning seems to me not to admit of any doubt. In all cases of ἀντιπεπονθός you must first determine the proper ratio which exists between the persons, which will give the ratio of the things and so enable you to join diagonally, that is establish the equality which ought to subsist before and therefore after exchange or requital.

The author however as I have already observed dwells at greatest length on the most important kind of πολιτικὴ κοινωνία as regards individuals, viz. barter or commercial exchange, the leading passages relating to which I will now proceed to examine. After stating that this principle accords neither with distributive nor corrective justice and briefly criticising some opinions respecting it, he goes on to say Ἄλλ' ἐν ΜΕΝ ταῖς κοινωνίαις ταῖς ἀλλακτικαῖς συνέχει τὸ τοιοῦτον δίκαιον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, κατ' ἀναλογίαν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἰσότητα, (τῷ ἀντιποιεῖν γὰρ ἀνάλογον συμμένει ἡ πόλις, ἡ γὰρ τὸ κακῶς... χαρίζομενον,) ποιεῖ ΔΕ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τὴν κατ' ἀναλογίαν ἡ κατὰ διάμετρον σύζευξις, οἷον οἰκοδόμος ἐφ' ᾧ Α, σκυτοτόμος ἐφ' ᾧ Β, οἰκία ἐφ' ᾧ Γ, ὑπόδημα ἐφ' ᾧ Δ. δεῖ οὖν λαμβάνειν τὸν οἰκοδόμον παρὰ τοῦ σκυτοτόμου τοῦ ἐκείνου ἔργον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ μεταδιδόναι τὸ αὐτοῦ. 'However, to come to the point, since in all mutual dealings where barter takes place this form of justice, the principle of like for like, holds society together, proceeding according to proportion and not equality, (this principle indeed applies to every kind of mutual dealing, for by requital in proportion society subsists, it applies alike to the redress of injuries and the return of benefits, &c.) the joining together diagonally the opposite angles of a parallelogram represents this mutual dealing; A is a builder, B a shoemaker, C a house, D a shoe; the builder has to receive from the shoemaker some of his work and to give in return some of his own.' I have altered Bekker's punctuation and arranged the passage in what appears to be its true connexion; for surely μέν and δέ answer one another and the intermediate sentences form a series of parenthetical clauses which extend the principle to other kinds of κοινωνία quite in the manner of Aristotle and even more of his imitator Eudemus who loves to exaggerate all his master's peculiarities. The diagonal conjunction is of course the proportion  $A : D :: B : C$ , or, ἐναλλάξ,  $A : B :: D : C$ .

The next sentence has an important bearing on the argument, Ἐὰν οὖν πρῶτον ᾗ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἴσον, εἴτα τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός

γένηται, ἔσται τὸ λεγόμενον· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἴσον οὐδὲ συμμένει· οὐθὲν γὰρ κωλύει κρείττον εἶναι τὸ θατέρου ἔργον ἢ τὸ θατέρου, δεῖ οὖν ταῦτα ἰσασθῆναι. 'If then equality conformably to the proportion be *first* determined, and *after that* reciprocity take place, there will follow the result we speak of; but if this is not done the exchange is not equal, for there is nothing to hinder the work of the one being superior to that of the other. These then must first be brought to an equality.' This clearly means that you are first of all by a proportion to estimate the worth of the productions according to the worth of the producers, in order to be able by increasing the quantity to make the less equal to the more valuable. If the farmer be worth twice the shoemaker, then will his produce also be worth twice that of the other; you must therefore increase in this ratio the quantity of the shoemaker's produce; otherwise they will not be equal nor able to exchange on fair terms. Thus it is the proportion which fixes the equality.

In the next twenty lines the author explains the use of money as a means of securing regularity in barter; he then continues the former argument in these words "Ἔσται δὲ ἀντιπεπονθός, ὅταν ἰσασθῇ, ὥστε ὅπερ γεωργὸς πρὸς σκυτοτόμον, τὸ ἔργον τὸ τοῦ σκυτοτόμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ γεωργοῦ. εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας οὐ δεῖ ἄγειν, ὅταν ἀλλάξωνται, ...ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔχωσι τὰ αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἴσοι καὶ κοινωνοί, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ἰσότης δύναται ἐπ' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι. γεωργὸς Α, τροφή Γ, σκυτοτόμος Β, τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἰσασμένον Δ. εἰ δ' οὕτω μὴ ἦν ἀντιπεπονθέναι, οὐκ ἂν ἦν κοινωνία. I have purposely omitted one clause, intending to examine it more fully afterwards. 'It follows from what has been said that there will be reciprocity *after equality has been established*, the farmer bearing the same ratio to the shoemaker as the shoemaker's work to the farmer's. But observe they are not to be brought into a proportion *after* exchange has taken place, otherwise, &c.; but while they hold each his own work, so long are they on equal terms and in a condition to have mutual dealings, *because* this equality can then be effected in their case. A is the farmer, C the corn, B the shoemaker, D his work which has been raised to an equality with A's. But had it not been possible in this way to apply the principle of reciprocity, there could have been no dealing between them.' This passage is a mere amplification of the one explained above. The original proportion it is which determines from the relative worth of A and B the relative worth of their productions and points out in what ratio

the inferior work must be increased for A and B to exchange on equal terms. *ὅταν ἰσασθῇ* and *ὅταν ἀλλάξωνται* have of course their proper aorist force and the latter is opposed to *ὅταν ἔχωσι*. So long as each retains possession of his own work the equality may be established and a fair exchange take place; but this is no longer possible if they part with their property before the proportion has determined this equality.

I will now proceed to consider some of H. L. M.'s statements. If the explanation I have given is correct, there is of course no contradiction *apparent* or *real* between the two passages which he compares together in page 344. He understands I presume *ὅταν ἀλλάξωνται* in the sense of *ὅταν ἀλλάττωνται*, and no doubt the same reason has induced various commentators to omit the negative before *δεῖ ἄγειν*, which as H. L. M. rightly observes is not countenanced by a single manuscript. But I wholly dissent from what he says of the scholiast whose comment appears to me to be very clear and quite correct; it is as follows *Τὰς ἀναλογίας τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἔργων δεῖ ποιεῖν πρὸ τοῦ ἀλλάξασθαι... γινομένης γὰρ τῆς ἀναλογίας πρὸ τῆς ἀλλαγῆς μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς ἔσται ἡ ἀντίδοσις καὶ ἡ ἀλλαγή ἴση καὶ δικαία* (Ed. Ald. p. 69, l. 30). Where does he say that 'the equality is to exist before exchange but not afterwards?' The proportion, *ἀναλογία*, takes place before exchange in order to determine the equality which ought to exist both before and after it.

In page 345 H. L. M. asks, 'What is meant by *ἀντιπεπονθός* or *ἀντίδοσις* κατ' ἀναλογίαν and κατ' ἰσότητα?... The natural and obvious meaning of an *exchange in proportion* is one in which the value of the goods exchanged is proportional to the wealth or ability of the parties exchanging; so that *e.g.* if A is ten times as rich as B, his gift will be ten times as great as B's return.' I have already attempted to show that our author is not speaking of an exchange *in proportion* but of an exchange *in equality*, which equality is determined *by* proportion, *ἐὰν πρῶτον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἴσον*, and it is real worth, not wealth, which this proportion takes account of.

If I am right, the next paragraph likewise falls to the ground; and when H. L. M. asks, 'What parallel can possibly exist between avenging an injury and dealing with a tradesman?' and so on, I reply that according to our author the closest parallel exists between them, all alike as different phases of *πολιτικὴ κοινωνία* being



included under the term ἀντιπεπονθός, of which I have already attempted to give an illustration.

In page 346 H. L. M. quotes a passage from the Eudemean Ethics, 'which explains,' he says, 'the whole difficulty as clearly as if it had been expressly written in illustration of it.' The passage has a reference, but in my opinion only a general reference, to our chapter; but there is another passage in the same work which makes pointed allusion to our chapter and which has always appeared to me of ominous import for deciding whether Aristotle or Eudemus is the author of this fifth (fourth) book. It occurs near the end of the long tenth chapter of the seventh book, p. 1243 b 27, Ὅμως δὲ φανερόν καὶ ἐνταῦθα πῶς γνωριστέον· ἐνὶ γὰρ μετρητέον καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅρῳ ἀλλὰ λόγῳ· τῷ ἀναλόγον γὰρ μετρητέον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ μετρεῖται κοινωνία. πῶς γὰρ κοινωνήσει γεωργῷ σκυτοτόμος, εἰ μὴ τῷ ἀνάλογον ἰσασθήσεται τὰ ἔργα; 'Nevertheless in this case too it is clear how we are to decide: in this case too we are to measure by one standard, not however one of *number* but one of *proportion*; we must measure I repeat by the principle of proportion, as is done in the *mutual dealings of social life*: for how shall a shoemaker have dealings with a farmer, unless their *works shall be brought to an equality by the principle of proportion*?' Is there any ambiguity in these words? Eudemus asserts that proportion must serve as the standard of all πολιτικὴ κοινωνία; then selecting for special comment one of its branches commercial exchange, he employs the very same illustration which is so largely developed in our chapter. And here I cannot refrain from quoting the words of Aristotle which are the groundwork of the Eudemean passage just cited, in order first to elucidate still further the points in dispute; secondly to let it be seen that the language of Eudemus tallies here with the 5th (4th) book much more closely than Aristotle's; and lastly to show that in nothing does the latter more display the greatness of his strength than in the signal moderation with which he abstains from loading a discussion with pedantic fulness of detail in cases where, to use his own expression, mathematical accuracy would be out of place. This however cannot be said of Eudemus, nor of the 5th book of the Ethics, if indeed it belong to the Nicomachean and not, as I believe it does, to the Eudemean treatise. The passage to which I refer forms the commencement of the ninth book, Ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἀνομοειδέσι φιλίαις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἰσάζει

καὶ σώζει τὴν φιλίαν, καθάπερ εἴρηται, οἷον καὶ ἐν τῇ πολιτικῇ τῷ σκυτοτόμῳ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑποδημάτων ἀμοιβὴ γίνεται κατ' ἀξίαν, καὶ τῷ ὑφάντῃ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς. The reasoning here is the same but is much more simply expressed; it is still proportion and relative value which render any kind of social dealing and therefore any commercial transaction equal and just.

I greatly doubt whether the words *κοινωνίαι ἀλλακτικαί* could bear the meaning given to them in page 347, 'interchange of friendly offices.' Surely they denote one particular kind of *πολιτικῇ κοινωνία* barter or commercial exchange. In later legal phraseology *ἀλλακτικὸν δίκαιον* is a technical term for commercial law. It is true that Plato in his *Sophist*, p. 223 c, divides *ἡ ἀλλακτική* into two classes, *τὸ μὲν δωρητικὸν τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἀγοραστικόν*, but he does not further explain *δωρητικόν*, the whole of the context discussing barter of one kind or another. But granting that the words could in themselves bear this meaning, would the author have so used them once and then in the same chapter without the slightest warning have employed the cognate terms *ἀλλαγὴ* and *ἀλλάττεσθαι* some ten times in their proper technical sense of commercial exchange? But conceding even this the construction of the sentence seems, as I have already attempted to show, imperiously to reject such an explanation. Nor can I agree with H. L. M. when he goes on to say 'Proportion is admissible in commerce *only when the ratios composing it are ratios of equality*; i. e. when the relation between the two producers and their respective works can be expressed by  $A : B :: C : D :: 1 : 1$ .' That would be a sorry result indeed of so elaborate an argument. The proportion  $A : B :: C : D$  is admissible *before* exchange in *all* cases, whatever the ratios be; nay more it is the only test by which that equality can be determined which enables dealers to exchange on fair terms and obtain those ratios of equality which are the symbols of fair exchange, that is not  $A : B :: C : D :: 1 : 1$ , but  $A : B :: D : C :: 1 : 1$ , represented by the *diagonal conjunction*, where D by means of the first proportion has been raised to an equality with C, and consequently B has been put on an equal footing with A. The remarks of the scholiast are well worth perusal: they immediately follow the passage quoted above.

I now come to the difficult clause *Εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμφοτέρας ἔξει τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον* of which I have deferred the consideration till now. The Scholiast's comment is odd and unsatisfactory, *Εἰ*

δὲ ἀπλῶς καὶ χωρὶς ἀναλογίας ἀλλάσσονται ἑκάτερα τῶν ἄκρων, ἥτοι ὁ οἰκοδόμος καὶ ὁ σκυτεὺς ἀμφοτέρας ἔξει τὰς ὑπεροχάς· εἰ γὰρ λάβῃ ὁ οἰκοδόμος τὰ β ὑποδήματα, ἔσται μὲν ὑπερέχων ὡς οἰκοδόμος ὑπερεχόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐλλείπων ὡς τὰ β ὑποδήματα ἔχων, and conversely with the shoemaker. According to another but in my opinion equally erroneous interpretation the words ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπεροχάς are made to signify ‘both more and less:’ the one will give more and receive less, the other will give less and receive more. But how can the words have this meaning or rather no-meaning? Surely the act of giving more implies the receiving less and vice versa. Can a person in bartering with another give more and yet not receive less, or give less and not receive more? The supposition is absurd. I understand the passage thus. The author in his fear lest his theory should be abused insists again and again that the proportion and consequent equalisation shall take place before not after the exchange; ‘if this is not done,’ he adds, ‘one of the two will have both the exceedings,’ i. e. both the excess in value of the superior work and also the proportional excess in quantity which ought to go to the inferior work. Thus if A and B first exchange and after that seek to equalise by proportion, you will have  $A : B :: D : C$ , D of course being B’s C A’s work; but A is worth say twice B, so that if the proportion stands C must be doubled in order to bring B to an equality with A; and thus B will get double the amount of work of double the value, i. e. ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ὑπεροχάς, the words thus bearing their natural meaning. This interpretation may sound somewhat like a truism; but the author here as elsewhere seems to be thinking more of the technical completeness of his exposition than of the precise worth taken by itself of each of his statements. To justify the caution, one might imagine a scene of the following kind. A, a farmer of the old school, wishes to exchange his corn for the shoes of B, a cobbler of the town, whose native sagacity has been sharpened by the lectures of Protagoras and Gorgias, or at all events by the gratuitous instructions of Socrates. B naturally takes the lead in concluding the bargain. He informs A that the best philosophers are agreed that barter shall take place according to diagonal proportion but neglects to add that the proportion should be determined before exchange. ‘We have thus,’ he says to A, at the same time describing a parallelogram with its two diagonals, ‘the proportion  $A : D :: B : C$ , or alternando  $A : B :: D : C$ . If you do



not see this step, Sir, I beg to refer you to the 16th proposition in the 5th book of Theætetus' edition of the Elements of Theodorus, the standard work on the subject, where you will at once perceive the truth of what I say by taking any equimultiples whatever of A and D and also any equimultiples of B and C. Now fully persuaded as I am of the truth that society cannot exist without a due and proper subordination of ranks, I am proud to acknowledge your superiority to me. The best authorities calculate you at I believe two and a half times my value. If you think the ratio should be higher in your favour, I bow to your decision. You do not contest the point;—very good, we have then  $A : B :: D : C$ , A representing you, B myself, D one of my poor shoes, C a sack of your excellent corn. As fair exchange requires that all four terms should be made equal, I am to be increased two and a half times and C likewise. Permit me therefore to take these five sacks and to leave you these two shoes.' Exit cobbler with corn; farmer remains with the shoes in a state of bewilderment from which he vainly endeavours to escape by taking any equimultiples whatever of himself and the shoes, of the cobbler and the corn.

## 2. *Does this book belong to Aristotle or Eudemus?*

WITH the exception of the Organon which appears to be complete and uninjured in all its parts there is hardly one of the numerous works now extant under the name of Aristotle which does not present to the critic difficulties more or less grave extending sometimes to the whole treatise but more frequently affecting only particular sections. As we possess little or no external testimony to enable us to pierce the thick mist of obscurity which hangs over the history of Aristotle's writings owing to the loss of that enormous mass of philosophical literature which was published between his death and the times of Cicero, we are left almost entirely to the uncertain and precarious guidance of internal evidence. Many distinguished critics however both in France and Germany have of late years employed their labour on this long neglected field, but none with more eminent success than Professor Leonhard Spengel in several dissertations published at different times in the Munich Transactions. One of

the most valuable of these is an examination\* of the three treatises on ethics which have come down to us among the works of Aristotle, prompted apparently by the publication† of an incomplete essay of Schleiermacher's in which he maintains the amazing paradox that the so called Great Ethics have most claim to be the work if not of the master himself at least of one of his immediate disciples, that the Eudemian treatise is a later and less valuable production and the Nicomachean the latest, most unscientific and worst of the three. Spengel on the contrary holds that the Nicomachean Ethics were written by Aristotle, the Eudemian by Eudemus of Rhodes, next to Theophrastus the most famous of his scholars, and that the Great Ethics are a mere paraphrase of this latter work and of a much later though uncertain age. These points he demonstrates so triumphantly, demolishing at one and the same time the arguments of the Goliath himself and sweeping away the cobweb theories of one Titze and one Pansch, that no one I am confident will ever afterwards impugn the genuineness of the Nicomachean treatise even though he be blind to its power and beauty which proclaim with loud voice that it comes from the master's hand,—*Vociferantur et exponunt præclara reperta*. The lovers of Aristotle may well rejoice that Schleiermacher could bring himself to deliver such a criticism, shewing as it does how little one of his most delightful works has suffered from the assault of so renowned a master of logical fence and leading the way to so complete and brilliant a refutation. For Spengel not merely proves his main point but throws a flood of light on every part of his subject by the mass of interesting illustration which he brings to bear on it. It is true that Schleiermacher's published essay is but a fragment, and had the rest of what he composed on this question been extant much that is obscure in his argument might have been cleared up; but as it at present stands it is quite abortive and unworthy of so great a name. A summary of Spengel's refutation would do him but little justice as it rests on conclusions drawn from a very wide induction of particulars; and as these are so natural in themselves and so little likely to be questioned by the reader, I

\* Ueber die unter dem Namen des Aristoteles erhaltenen ethischen Schriften. Abhandl. der Münchner Akad. III,

2 (1841), pp. 439-551.

† Sämmtl. Werke, zur Philosophie III, pp. 306-333.

will say no more on this head but will pass on at once to what is the more immediate subject of this paper.

No reader of Aristotle needs to be told that the Nicomachean and Eudemean Ethics possess three books in common, the 5th, 6th and 7th of the former being word for word the same as the 4th, 5th and 6th of the latter. Now as it is plain on the most cursory perusal that both works are equally incomplete without these books or others closely corresponding in substance, it would seem to follow that one of the two has, probably by some accident, lost part of its contents and had the loss replaced out of the other. This would appear to be the only admissible alternative; for it would introduce a highly improbable complication into the case to suppose that one work lost a part of its contents and had this supplied out of the other, while the latter lost in its turn a different portion which was supplied out of the former. Such an assumption could only be justified by very strong internal evidence. Spengel though with some hesitation assigns them to the Nicomachean, Schleiermacher to the Eudemean Ethics but on most perverse grounds owing to the radical viciousness of his theory. I agree with him as to the fact but altogether repudiate his reasonings which however his fragmentary essay develops in a very imperfect manner. The latest editor of the Eudemean Ethics A. T. H. Fritzsche, adopting the opinions started by A. M. Fischer in an able dissertation\*, greatly complicates the question by giving the 5th book to Aristotle, the 6th and 7th to Eudemus.

What then is to decide the dispute? General considerations of style and manner? To state my own conviction, I confess that I have never read the Nicomachean Ethics without being struck with the contrast between these three books and the rest of the work; and on reperusing consecutively the two treatises I feel as strongly as it is possible to do the close resemblance which the style of these books bears to that of the Eudemean Ethics and the discrepancy which exists between them and the Nicomachean. The latter is among the most excellent and genial of Aristotle's writings. It displays vigour and raciness of language, depth yet simplicity of reasoning. We are told at the outset not to look for mathematical accuracy of treatment. Therefore the author gives

\* *De ethicis Nicomacheis et Eudemiis Aristotelis nomine inscriptis.* Bonn, 1847.



himself little concern as to whether the connexion between the different parts is such that no flaw could be detected by a keen adversary. The style too is plain and easy and with the exception of a few critical difficulties one can read the work with very little exertion. It is true that at every fresh perusal the reader will be struck more and more with the depth of thought which opens itself to his view. In some parts, especially in the first and still more the last book, the majestic flow of thought and language displays almost the beauty and more than the strength of Plato. Witness his glowing description of that life which the philosopher should strive to attain but which gods alone can enjoy in perfection, the βίος θεωρητικός, the first and chiefest of all, *Him*, to use Milton's personification, *who yon soars on golden wing Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne, The cherub Contemplation*. But as soon as I come to the disputed books I find all changed, the style harsher and more cumbrous, the thoughts less clearly developed; endless ἀπορίαι and answers to ἀπορίαι often leading to nothing; no life, no freshness. What a difference between the forcible, the hearty *con amore* exposition of the other ethical virtues in the 3rd and 4th books and that of justice in the 5th or the unequal and illbalanced treatment of the intellectual virtues in the 6th book! How immeasurably inferior is the discussion of pleasure in the 7th to that other and quite independent one in the first chapters of the 10th book! But on turning to the Eudemian treatise I perceive a perfect similarity of method and manner between it and the disputed books. The Rhodian wine it must be confessed though sound is somewhat harsh. It cannot indeed be denied that the style of Eudemus is formed on that of his master. Aristotle was the founder of a new technical and scientific language which struck deep roots in the writings of the later philosophical schools of Greece, was appropriated by the schoolmen and exercises at this day an important influence on the terminology of modern philosophy and art. It was only natural that his pupil Eudemus should imitate this style; and indeed his manner up to a certain point is quite Aristotelian, nay in some respects he is more Aristotelian than Aristotle himself. He adopts all the technical expressions; imitates, almost apes, all the salient points; copies often the minutest peculiarities of his master. So far then if any one maintains that these three books are Aristotelian in their style and treatment it is impossible to

deny this in a certain sense; yet for myself I have always felt that as in the undisputed books of the Eudemian Ethics so in these doubtful ones the life, the aroma of the master is wanting. But tastes proverbially differ, and Spengel a better judge than I am pronounces these books as well as the rest of Eudemus' treatise to be so entirely in Aristotle's manner that general considerations of style can determine absolutely nothing; while Fischer and Fritzsche agree in the conclusion that the 5th book is thoroughly Aristotelian and that the 6th and 7th are unworthy of Aristotle and quite in the manner of Eudemus.

The question therefore if it can be decided at all must be decided by proofs of a less disputable kind. The Great Ethics\* which follow, not the Nicomachean, but the Eudemian throughout the undisputed books (though the writer seems from his opening words and from several expressions in the course of his work to have known something of the former) likewise paraphrase the three doubtful books. This, says Spengel who gives them however to the other work, is the strongest argument that can be produced in support of Eudemus' claim. But though I am decidedly in favour of that claim I do not see that this argument has much weight unless we could be sure that the Great Ethics were written before this transfer of books took place. This however is by no means certain, since it is far from improbable that one of the two works lost the part which corresponded with these three books soon after the death of the author; for it is natural to conclude that more than one copy of such important works would soon be in the hands of the disciples of the Lyceum, and this would render the loss of a portion of the contents less likely. If indeed the Nicomachean was one of the treatises which descended into Neleus' cellar, we might in that case easily account for its revisiting the light of day in a mutilated condition. But who can solve this riddle?

Not more decisive are the allusions of Aristotle in other

\* For reasons why the work though much shorter than the other two might have received this name see Spengel, p. 453, and the great schoolman Albertus Magnus who acutely observes in his *Ethica*, Tract. 1 at end, Tom. IV, p. 10, *Scriptum autem et librum qui dicitur magna moralia, non ideo quod scriptura PLUS*

*contineat sed quia de FLURIBUS tractat, sicut de concordia benignitate bonitate et quibusdam aliis, de quibus hic [i.e. in eth. Nicom.] nullam mentionem facit: sed de quibus hic tractat, perfectius determinat et prolixius quam in libro magnorum moralium.* No satisfactory explanation has been discovered of the name *Nicomachean*.

works to questions treated of in this part of the Ethics where as is usual with him these are made in general terms; for it is beyond all question that the work to which these books do not belong has lost equivalent ones. The reference near the end of the first chapter of the Metaphysics to a question discussed in the 6th book of the Nicomachean or 5th of the Eudemean Ethics is of this description and therefore proves nothing. The references to what is said in the 5th (4th) book I reserve for further consideration as one of them appears to me to be of importance, and proceed meanwhile to a different kind of proofs, restricting myself to a brief summary of what has been said by others respecting the 7th and 6th books in order to be able to enlarge more fully on what I have to bring forward myself about the 5th.

Certainly the strongest evidence that these books are by Eudemus is to be found in the discussion on pleasure in the last four chapters of the 7th (6th) book. Spengel's examination of these chapters is so learned and complete that he seems to upset his theory with his own hands and in spite of himself to prove Eudemus to be the author. If we assume them to be Aristotle's, what difficulties meet us! We have two separate dissertations on pleasure, this and the one in the first chapters of the 10th book; neither of which makes the slightest reference to the other. They differ in form and in spirit. That the discussion in the 10th book is Aristotle's may be proved by overpowering evidence: twice in the 9th book he fixes it for this place; twice in the latter part of the 10th book he speaks of it as having come in this place after that on friendship. But nowhere in the Nicomachean Ethics out of the disputed books is there any allusion to the former discussion in the 7th book. On the other hand Eudemus, at the end of III, 2, has these words Ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἡδονῶν ἔσται διαιρετέον ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ὕστερον περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀκρασίας, assigning to the discussion the very place which it here occupies; while Aristotle never connects the examination of ἐγκράτεια with that of pleasure.

The evidence of the passages themselves is equally strong. The discussion in the 10th book is immeasurably superior to the other, more simple, more beautiful, more profound, more true. It agrees with what Aristotle says elsewhere. After refuting Eudoxus he proves that no pleasure can be the chief good or



εὐδαιμονία\* and that some pleasures are not good nor desirable at all. The dissertation in the 7th book while sometimes showing signs of imitation sometimes flatly contradicts the other. Near the beginning of the 14th chapter it is said that though some pleasures may be bad there is nothing to hinder some other being the chief good. A strange sentiment indeed for Aristotle! As Spengel has proved conclusively that the arguments in these chapters are principally directed not against the Philebus of Plato but against the teaching of Speusippus, it is probable that this sentiment was prompted by a spirit of antagonism towards the latter who carried his master's doctrines to an extravagant length by denying that any pleasure whatever was a good. There can be little doubt that in the lifetime of Eudemus an internecine war raged between the Academy and the Lyceum, and that Aristotle's relentless exposure of the extravagances of Plato's successors would excite in them a desire of retaliation and make them eager to detect any weak point, real or fancied, in his coat of mail. It has always appeared to me far from unlikely that such attacks may have been the chief cause which induced Eudemus to paraphrase his master's Ethics, Analytics and several other of his works and to introduce modifications of greater or less moment in order sometimes to parry the objections of an opponent, sometimes it may be to assail him in return. I cannot imagine either Plato or Aristotle turning aside in his stately march for the purpose of conciliating or exasperating an adversary. Spengel as it would seem from a strongly preconceived notion that the books must be Aristotle's suggests a meagre hypothesis, admissible only in case no other explanation were possible, that this may be a separate dissertation by Aristotle incorporated with the Ethics by his disciples: as if they were likely to spoil a perfect work by an unmeaning interpolation of this kind. But at the end of his essay, p. 533, constrained by the force of the evidence he says in contradiction to what he had before been maintaining, 'I must confess that the probability

\* Thus maintaining his high standard of εὐδαιμονία or τὰγαθόν or τὸ δριστον or τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀγαθόν, all synonymes, as ψυχῆς ἐνέργειά τις κατ' ἀρετὴν τελείαν ἐν βίῃ τελείῃ, adding at the same time with his usual moderation that a man must be *ικανῶς κεχορηγημένος τοῖς*

ἐκτὸς ἀγαθοῖς, for no one can be happy with a fortune like Priam's; wiser ground surely for one in Aristotle's position to take up than the stolid impassiveness of Stoicism. No one knew better than he that "strength is not shewn by convulsions but in stout bearing of burdens."

is greater that this is a 'fragment of Eudemus' Ethics.' Yes, surely it is; and then the rest of this book which in the passage quoted above from Eudemus is closely connected with these chapters must necessarily go along with them. And have we not now a right to infer that the other two books also belong to Eudemus? But this I think can be proved independently in the case of the 6th by internal evidence equally strong. As this evidence has been collected and applied with great acuteness by Fischer in the dissertation mentioned above and by Fritzsche in his edition of the Eudemian Ethics, I content myself with referring the reader to these works; for it would require some space to give an intelligible summary of their arguments. They have proved I think Eudemus to be the author by pointing out not only many striking coincidences between the rest of his treatise and this book but also irreconcilable discrepancies between it and the Nicomachean Ethics. They have likewise thrown much light on the general import of the last mutilated chapters of the Eudemian Ethics and have shown that Eudemus must have considerably modified the views developed by Aristotle in his 10th book in order doubtless to bring them more into conformity with the science of ethics in its more restricted meaning. They have also successfully answered several objections urged by Spengel against the claim of Eudemus, showing that some of these tend to confirm rather than disprove it. And here I may add that their reasonings appear to me greatly to invalidate the force of that which Spengel looks upon as a decisive proof that the three books are Aristotle's, viz. the curious fact that the writer of the Great Ethics, who as I have said follows throughout the undisputed parts of the Eudemian, after finishing his paraphrase of the 7th (6th) book passes on, not to the discussion of friendship which comes next to this book both in the Nicomachean and Eudemian treatise, but to the three mutilated chapters which form the conclusion of the latter as it now stands, and then closes his work with a chapter on friendship. Therefore, says Spengel, in his copy of the Eudemian Ethics these three books were wanting and were found by him in the Nicomachean; also the three last chapters came before the dissertation on friendship and therefore have precedence in his paraphrase; this precedence they must also have had in the work as it came from the hands of Eudemus, and they must have suffered

mutilation from the same accident which destroyed that portion of the work which was replaced by these three books. But to this I reply that we know nothing as to how, when or where the Great Ethics were written. I believe that their author had before him Eudemus' treatise in essentially the same condition in which we possess it, that the three last fragmentary chapters belonged to its last book, that the writer of the Great Ethics chose to put his paraphrase of them before his chapter on friendship because being isolated and disconnected they appeared to him unsuitable for the conclusion of a treatise. For what a simpleton he must have been if after going to the Nicomachean Ethics for these three books he then deserted the perfect work in order to paraphrase unconnected fragments! But as I have already observed it appears to me most probable that before his time these three books had already been transferred from the one work into the other.

But if the 7th and 6th books are given to Eudemus must not the 5th go with them? No, say Fischer and Fritzsche; while the two former have all the marks of Eudemus' style, the 5th on justice is quite in the manner and spirit of Aristotle; in it you see his *lacteus candor*, &c., except indeed in the last chapter which is unworthy of Aristotle and must be a fragment of Eudemus' lost book. Surely this is a strangely complicated hypothesis and would require strong evidence to prove it. To meet one general assertion by another, I am of opinion that the style of this book, last chapter and all, is precisely the same as that of the other two and of the undisputed parts of the Eudemian Ethics; that it belongs to Eudemus and must have borne the same relation to Aristotle's lost dissertation on justice that the treatment of the other ethical virtues in the 2nd and 3rd books does to that contained in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of the Nicomachean Ethics.

The following is one of the most plausible arguments for giving this book to Aristotle. About 20 lines from the beginning of the 5th chapter we find this passage *Περὶ δὲ τῆς καθ' ἑκαστον παιδείας καθ' ἣν ἀπλῶς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστι πότερον τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐστὶν ἢ ἐτέρας ὕστερον διοριστέον*. This promise is not fulfilled in the Eudemian Ethics as we possess them, but in the last long chapter of the Nicomachean there is a discussion resembling the one here alluded to. Now so far as it goes this is certainly in favour of Aristotle's claims; but it is undeniably certain that the end of



the Eudemian Ethics is in a mutilated condition. The three last chapters are almost unintelligible as they stand and form no proper conclusion to the work. Clearly much has been lost, and there can be little doubt that in this lost portion Eudemus went over, probably in a somewhat different spirit, much the same ground as Aristotle in the last part of his treatise, and that he there examined this question also.

I will here mention another passage which Spengel, p. 491, has cited to prove Eudemus not to be the author of these books. At the opening of the last long chapter of the Eudemian Ethics in which *καλοκάγαθία* or perfect moral excellence is explained we find these words Ἦν ἐκαλοῦμεν ἤδη καλοκάγαθίαν. Now this term is not met with in any previous part of the work; and Fischer and Fritzsche conclude that the word must have occurred in Eudemus' lost book on justice, and therefore that our book is Aristotle's. But surely the word was more likely to have been mentioned in some one of the lost portions of this last book in which he treats of this virtue and its end and aim the right worship and contemplation of god.

On the other hand in support of Eudemus' claim I appeal to numerous coincidences, both general and special, of thought and language in which both the earlier and later books of his Ethics closely agree with this 5th book, no such agreement existing between it and the undoubted portions of Aristotle's work. And here I would refer to the passage from Eudemus quoted in the former part of this paper, p. 63, and compared with one in this 5th (4th) book, as well as to the one cited by H. L. M. in Vol. I, p. 346, of this Journal. It will be seen that the expressions of Eudemus are almost identical with those in this 5th (4th) book while the corresponding passages in Aristotle himself show no such close agreement. Compare too *Eth. Eud.* VII, 9 and the beginning of 10, and also *Eth. Nic.* VIII, 13 &c., with the first part of the 10th chapter of this book beginning with Δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν ὅτι τὸ ζητούμενόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἀπλῶς δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν δίκαιον κ. τ. λ. It will be found that though Aristotle and Eudemus closely agree with one another in meaning there is decidedly more similarity in the whole turn of expression between Eudemus and this passage of our 5th (4th) book than between it and Aristotle.

Yet stronger perhaps are the coincidences that may be pointed out between this book and the earlier ones of Eudemus.

Look at II, 10, p. 1226 b 36 Ἄμα δ' ἐκ τούτων φανερόν καὶ ὅτι καλῶς διορίζονται οἱ τῶν παθημάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια τὰ δ' ἀκούσια τὰ δ' ἐκ προνοίας νομοθετοῦσιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ διακριβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἄπτονται γέ πη τῆς ἀληθείας· ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐροῦμεν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἐπισκέψει, and refer also to the preceding and following pages, especially ch. 9, 1225 b 1 Δοκεῖ δὲ ἐναντίον εἶναι τὸ ἐκούσιον τῷ ἀκουσίῳ, καὶ τὸ εἰδότα ἢ ὄν ἢ ᾧ ἢ οὐ ἔνεκα (ἐνίοτε γὰρ οἶδε μὲν ὅτι πατήρ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἵνα ἀποκτείνῃ ἀλλ' ἵνα σώσῃ. . .) τῷ ἀγνοοῦντι καὶ ὄν καὶ ᾧ καὶ ὅ, δι' ἄγνοιαν, μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. τὸ δὲ δι' ἄγνοιαν, καὶ ὅ καὶ ᾧ καὶ ὄν, ἀκούσιον, and ch. 8, p. 1224 b 10 Ὡστ' οὐ βία οὐδέτερος ἀλλ' ἐκὼν διὰ γε ταῦτα πράττοι ἂν οὐδ' ἀναγκαζόμενος. τὴν γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἀρχὴν τὴν παρὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ ἐμποδίζουσιν ἢ κινοῦσιν ἀνάγκην λέγομεν, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λαβὼν τὴν χεῖρα τύπτει τινὰ ἀντιτείνοντος καὶ τῷ βούλεσθαι καὶ τῷ ἐπιθυμεῖν. Now turn to v (IV), 10, p. 1135, 19 (93, 34 Bekker's small ed.) Ἀδίκημα δὲ καὶ δικαιοπράγμημα ὄρισται καὶ τῷ ἐκούσιῳ καὶ ἀκουσίῳ· ὅταν γὰρ ἐκούσιον ἢ ψέγεται, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀδίκημα τότε ἐστίν· ὥστ' ἔσται τι ἄδικον μὲν ἀδίκημα δ' οὐπω, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐκούσιον προσῇ. λέγω δ' ἐκούσιον μὲν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, ὃ ἂν τις τῶν ἐφ' αὐτῷ ὄντων εἰδὼς καὶ μὴ ἀγνοῶν πράττῃ μῆτε ὄν μῆτε ᾧ μῆτε οὐ ἔνεκα, οἷον τίνα τύπτει καὶ τίνι καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα, κακείνων ἕκαστον μὴ κατὰ συμβεβηκός μηδὲ βία, ὥσπερ εἴ τις λαβὼν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τύπτει ἕτερον, οὐχ ἐκὼν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ. ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸν τυπτόμενον πατέρα εἶναι, τὸν δ' ὅτι μὲν ἄνθρωπος ἢ τῶν παρόντων τις γινώσκειν, ὅτι δὲ πατήρ ἀγνοεῖν κ.τ.λ. Then 12 lines lower is discussed what Eudemus promised to examine in the passage quoted from his 2nd book, Τριῶν δὲ οὐσῶν βλαβῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις, τὰ μὲν μετ' ἀγνοίας ἀμαρτήματά ἐστιν, ὅταν μῆτε ὄν μῆτε ὃ μῆτε ᾧ μῆτε οὐ ἔνεκα ὑπέλαβε πράξῃ· ἢ γὰρ οὐ βαλεῖν ἢ οὐ τούτῳ ἢ οὐ τοῦτον ἢ οὐ τούτου ἔνεκα φήθῃ, ἀλλὰ συνέβη οὐχ οὐ ἔνεκα φήθῃ, οἷον οὐχ ἵνα τρώσῃ ἀλλ' ἵνα κεντήσῃ, ἢ οὐχ ὄν, ἢ οὐχ ὥς. If one refers now to Eth. Nic. III, 2 and 3 which correspond with the chapters just cited in Eth. Eud. II, it will be seen that Aristotle's exposition is much more simple than that of Eudemus and bears much less resemblance in style and manner to this part of the 5th (4th) book. What a strange man then Eudemus must have been if while expressing in his paraphrase the same general ideas as Aristotle, (for he adheres most strictly in doctrine to his master all through the special delineation of the several ethical virtues in his 2nd and 3rd books,) he yet avoided imitating the peculiar turn of thought and expression in the sentences immediately before him and chose rather to refer sometimes forwards sometimes backwards in order often to borrow the exact phraseology of passages which yet Aristotle, if the 5th book

be his, did not himself adopt in the chapters corresponding to those of Eudemus from which I have just quoted. Surely the just inference from this is that Eudemus wrote the book.

Eudemus it must be remembered in treating of the other ethical virtues follows his master's steps so closely in substance though not in form that if Aristotle's 3rd and 4th books were lost any general reference (and his references usually are of this kind) in another work to what he has said in these books might be verified in Eudemus. It is only natural therefore to conclude that, assuming Aristotle's dissertation on justice to be lost, it must have borne much the same relation to our 5th (4th) book; and that when he refers in another treatise to what he has said of justice in his Ethics we should find the same question here discussed. Agreement therefore will do little to prove, discrepancy much to disprove the genuineness of this book.

Twice in his Politics Aristotle refers to what he has said in his Ethics; once in III, 9 near the beginning where the allusion might very well be to the first part of the 6th chapter of our book; although I cannot help feeling that the language of the Politics is less intricate and embarrassed. The other reference deserves a fuller examination. In II, 1 after shortly criticising Plato's Republic he says, p. 1261, 22 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἶδει διαφερόντων. οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων. ἕτερον γὰρ συμμαχία καὶ πόλις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷ ποσῷ χρήσιμον, κἂν ἢ τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ εἶδει. βοηθείας γὰρ χάριν ἡ συμμαχία πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σταθμὸς πλείων ἐλκύσῃ. διοίσει δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ πόλις ἔθνοισ, ὅταν μὴ κατὰ κώμας ὅσοι κεχωρισμένοι τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' οἷον Ἀρκάδες. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δεῖ ἐν γενέσθαι, εἶδει διαφέρει. διόπερ τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς σώζει τὰς πόλεις, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἡθικοῖς εἴρηται πρότερον. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ ἴσοις ἀνάγκη τοῦτ' εἶναι. ἅμα γὰρ οὐχ οἷον τε πάντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' ἐναντὸν ἢ κατὰ τινα ἄλλην τάξιν ἢ χρόνον. καὶ συμβαίνει δὴ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ὥστε πάντας ἄρχειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ μετέβαλλον οἱ σκυτεῖς καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ μὴ οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ βέλτιον οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τὴν πολιτικὴν, δῆλον ὡς τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἄρχειν, εἰ δυνατόν. ἐν οἷς δὲ μὴ δυνατόν διὰ τὸ τὴν φύσιν ἴσους εἶναι πάντας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δίκαιον, εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν εἴτε φαῦλον τὸ ἄρχειν, πάντας αὐτοῦ μετέχειν, ἐν τούτοις δὲ μιμεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν μέρει τοὺς ἴσους εἵκειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενομένοι. τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἕτεροι ἐτέρας ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς. This passage merits our closest attention. At first sight any one would say



that the reference is to v, 8, about which so much has been said in the first part of this paper. But let us consider Aristotle's argument in this passage of the Politics: a πόλις is not an ἔθνος or συμμαχία, it consists, not of persons actually or theoretically equal, but of persons differing in quality; wherefore as is said in the Ethics it is held together by τὸ ἴσον τὸ ἀντιπεπονηθός, since even in free states, as all cannot govern at once but must hold office in turn, the governors during their term of office differ in quality from the governed. Now I maintain that our 8th chapter bears out no such reasoning. But here for the sake of comparison I must quote another passage from the 5th book of the Ethics. About 12 lines from the end of the fifth chapter are these words Τῆς δὲ κατὰ μέρος δικαιοσύνης καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν δικαίου ἐν μὲν ἔστιν εἶδος τὸ ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τιμῆς ἢ χρημάτων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα μεριστὰ τοῖς κοινωνοῦσι τῆς πολιτείας· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ἄνισον ἔχειν καὶ ἴσον ἕτερον ἐτέρου· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμασι διορθωτικόν. τούτου δὲ μέρη δύο· τῶν γὰρ συναλλαγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια ἔστι τὰ δ' ἀκούσια, ἐκούσια μὲν τὰ τοιαύδε οἷον πρᾶσις ὠνή κ.τ.λ. Of these two kinds the first is distributive justice by which the state according to geometrical proportion awards to each man his due share of office, wealth &c.; the second is corrective justice by which the state through its judges according to arithmetical proportion deals out the same measure to all, rich and poor, good and bad, alike in criminal and civil actions. But in the 8th chapter, of which by this time my readers must be heartily sick, a third kind τὸ ἀντιπεπονηθός is discussed which tallies neither with distributive nor corrective justice but according to a third principle regulates all dealings between *man and man*; the other two regulating the procedure of the *state* towards its component members. The relation between these chapters appears to me to admit of no other explanation. Clearly then according to *our* Ethics it is distributive justice, not τὸ ἀντιπεπονηθός, which ought to determine the position of individuals in a state. If this is so, our Ethics do not confirm but contradict the Politics; consequently the 5th book is not Aristotle's.

Am I therefore maintaining that he did not discuss these three kinds of justice more or less on the principles here developed? Assuredly not; but what I do mean to assert is that the spirit in which he dealt with them must have been different and that with his usual moderation, in a case where the analogies introduced could not be applied with due precision, he would not

have attempted to carry out with the cumbersome and technical minuteness of Eudemus distinctions often without a difference between these three kinds of justice which must necessarily run parallel up to a certain point. He would have seen that this instead of helping out would only clog and embarrass the reasoning.

I do not hesitate then to give this as well as the other two books to Eudemus; and I will not add *εἰ δ' ἔπεστι νέμεσις, οὐ λέγω*, for in taking them from Aristotle I thereby imply that his own lost books were more in accordance with the rest of the treatise and therefore more perfect in form and philosophic in spirit\*.

But if the authorship of the 5th book admit of question, there can I think be none that the last chapters beginning with the 9th are not in their proper order. To begin with the end; the last chapter is entirely unconnected with the preceding one and forms no suitable conclusion to the book. Fischer and Fritzsche maintain that it is a fragment of Eudemus' lost book on justice, but I have already spoken of the improbability of such an hypothesis. The chapter is manifestly identical in style and manner with the rest of the book; it is equally clear that it is a continuation of chap. 12. At the opening of that chapter he says *Ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν προ-εἰλόμεθα δὴ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, πότερόν ποτ' ἀδικεῖ ὁ νείμας παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὸ πλεῖον ἢ ὁ ἔχων, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν αὐτὸν αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν*, and in the rest of the chapter he discusses the first of these two questions and in chap. 15 the second. These two chapters therefore must be joined. It is equally certain (as Spengel has observed, p. 470,) that chap. 14 on *ἐπιείκεια* is not in its right place. It is a special kind of justice, and therefore he would place it after the sentence *Πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον εἴρηται πρότερον*, about seven lines from the beginning of chap. 10. He is right I think in connecting it with *τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς*, but this alteration will only increase the confusion unless other changes are made. For observe the first 7 lines of chap. 10 *Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστιν ἀδικοῦντα* down to *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων*; they have no connexion at all with what precedes and follows. It seems to me almost certain that their proper place is in the middle of the long chap. 10 between the words *ἢ ἀρίστη*

\* An essay entitled *Commentatio de Ethicorum Nicomacheorum integritate*, by J. Bendixen, has lately appeared (1854), in which it is main-

tained that the three books are Aristotle's; but I confess myself quite unable to see the force or point of the arguments.

and τῶν δὲ δικαίων, p. 1135, 5 (93, 18 Bekker's small ed.) But then the sentence which follows them Πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός &c. cannot either in sense or construction be joined with the last words of chap. 9; but these last words must immediately be followed by Δεῖ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνειν ὅτι τὸ ζητούμενον &c. Both sense and grammar imperiously dictate this. Observe now the transition from chap. 8 to chap. 9; without one word of connexion the writer passes from an illustration of τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός, a special form of justice, to quite another branch of the general subject. But let us close chap. 8 with the sentence we have yet to dispose of Πῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὸ ἀντιπεπονθός πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον εἴρηται [πρότερον]. The reason why πρότερον would be inserted when the sentence lost its proper place is plain enough\*. And then let the whole of chap. 14 follow this sentence, as Spengel proposes, Περὶ δὲ ἐπιεικείας . . . ἐχόντων ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ. The last words of chap. 14 will then form an apt conclusion to the discussion of these special forms of justice. After chap. 14 will follow in regular order chaps. 9, 10 (with the exception of the first sentences to which we have already assigned suitable places), 11 and 12; and chap. 12 as we have said must be followed by chap. 15. We have now only chap. 13 to dispose of, and it will form a most suitable termination to the whole dissertation on justice, showing as it does that the theory is simple enough but that it is the practice which is difficult; this is eminently a human virtue; gods are above it, brutes below it. The last words διὰ τοῦτ' ἀνθρώπινόν ἐστιν emphatically close the discussion, and the writer may now well open the next book with the words Περὶ μὲν οὖν δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἠθικῶν ἀρετῶν διωρίσθω τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

I do not presume to say that I have restored the true connexion of these chapters; but I am sure the arrangement I have proposed is better than the present one. But how, when or where could such a dislocation have taken place? On counting the number of lines in the four principal masses of text which on the supposition just made have been transposed from their right places I find that three out of the four are in Bekker's edition pretty nearly of the same length and that the fourth is a multiple of the others, being about three times their length. But the transposition seems to have taken place too much on system to

\* Such interpolations appear often to Aristotle where a dislocation of parts occur in the Politics and other works of has taken place.



allow one to attribute it to the accidental displacement of a few leaves of a manuscript; for then all grammatical connexion would probably have been lost, as may be seen in cases where such an accident is known to have occurred. The Eudemian Ethics even when every allowance is made for the grievous corruptions of the text have always appeared to me an unfinished work. What if Eudemus left it incomplete at his death and some one transcribed portions of it from his waxen tablets, as Diogenes tells us Philip of Opus did in the case of Plato's Laws? But enough of conjecture on conjecture: τὸ πόρρω δ' οὐ διώξω· κεινὸς εἶην.

HUGH MUNRO.

## Adversaria.

### Lexicographical Notes.

I. II. *Scrinium, animosus*. (Propertius iii. 6. 14, and iii. 9. 9).

NUMEROUS as are the injuries which sound scholarship has sustained from "figures of speech" and technical terms, which so often cover an editor's retreat from difficulties, perhaps no expression of the kind has done more mischief than ἀπαξ λεγόμενα. Those who have not looked into the matter may be surprised to find how greatly the number of these anomalies may be reduced by careful consideration of the context in each case. As a contribution to this most necessary work I may notice two passages of Propertius, as interpreted by Mr Paley, whose edition, from the flattering mention which has been made of it in literary journals, may be supposed to be most acceptable to ordinary readers.

*Scriniæque ad lecti clausa jacere pedes.*

"*Scrinia*, not the *capsa* or manuscript case, but the casket or dressing-case for the toilet; if the opinion of the commentators be correct." It is unfortunate that Passeratius, because *scrinium unguentorum* is once spoken of (by Plin. H. N. vii. 30), should have here given the word that unusual sense. Cynthia was a poetess (i. 2. 27 seq., see Hertzberg, vol. i. p. 36: hence she is called *docta*), and when composing would recline on her *lectus lucubratorius* with her desk (*scrinium*) before her. So Burmann;

Pliny (Ep. v. 5. § 5) leaves no doubt as to the point: *Visus est sibi per nocturnam quietem jacere in lectulo suo compositus in habitum studentis, habere ante se scrinium ita, ut solebat.*

*Gloria Lysippo est animosa effingere signa.*

Mr Paley has the authority of the lexicographers (Forcellini, Scheller, Freund) and of several editors for his interpretation of *animosa* as ἀπαξ λεγόμενον for *animantia*. Yet Schmid (on Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 240 seq.: æra *Fortis* Alexandri vultum *simulantia*) has shewn that Lysippus' statues were characterised not merely as living (*animantia*, *viva*, *spirantia*), but as full of fire, force, animation (*animosa*). He alone “συνεξέφερε τῇ μορφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι....οὐ διεφύλαττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρρένωπὸν καὶ λεοντῶδες,” says Plut. *de fort. Alex.* ii. 2, p. 335. See in the Anthology Posidippi Epigr. 14. (Brunck, Anal. ii. p. 49): Λύσιππε, πλάστα Σικυνῶνιε, θαρσαλέη χεῖρ, δάϊε τεχνίτα, πῦρ τοι ὁ χαλκὸς ὀρῇ, ὅν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μορφᾶς χέες· οὐκέτι μεμπτοὶ Πέρσαι· συγγνώμη βοῦσι λέοντα φυγεῖν. Archelai Epigr. 1 (Brunck ii. p. 58): Τόλμαν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὄλαν ἀπεμάτα μορφὰν Λύσιππος. Cf. Stat. S. iv. 6. 36 seq., Müller Archæol. § 129.

### III. *Hic esto; istic sum.*

*Istic sum*, in the sense of “I am attending,” is cited by the lexicographers\* from Cic. Finn. v. § 78, and Ter. Hec. i. 2. 39, on which last place see Gronovius. A phrase, the necessary correlative of this, and doubtless belonging to the latinity of the purest age, is preserved to us by St Augustine. “*R. Hic ergo esto nunc, ut interroganti caute firmeque respondeas. A. Istic sum.*”—Soliloq. ii. § 2 init. “*R. Hic esto quantum potes, et vigilantissime attende. A. Dic, quæso, si quid tibi suggestum est, ne pereamus. R. Hic esto. A. Ecce habes me nihil aliud agentem.*”—*Ibid.* § 9 fin. *Hic sum* is similarly used: “*R. Attende diligentissime. A. Loquere jam; hic sum; quid enecas?*”—*Ibid.* § 24. In the first book, § 28 fin. is another instance of *istic sum*. “*R. Ergo attende. A. Istic sum.*”

J. E. B. MAYOR.

\* A comparison of Forcellini and Freund will prove that Freund does not always verify his references; Scheller is more independent.

IV. *On several passages of Sophocles' Œdipus Tyrannus.*Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 305,

Φοῖβος γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ κλύεις τῶν ἀγγέλων.

Dr Kennedy (*Journal of Philol.* vol. I. p. 319) "thinks the position of the words here may well be regarded as a Sophoclean hyperbaton = εἰ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων μὴ κλύεις, i. e. 'I may mention this on the supposition that you have not heard it already from the messengers also.' " But in the *epitatic* use of καὶ the emphasis is most usually on the word immediately following, and, in this sentence, that the emphasis should be on μὴ; is required, I think, by the sense of the passage also; which I take to be this:—"if indeed you have *not* already heard what I am about to tell you from the messengers."

328.

—ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μὴ ποτε,

τᾶμ' ὡς ἂν εἴπω, μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφῆνω κακά.

Such I think (with Elmsley and Erfurdt) should be the punctuation of this passage, the difficulties of which, caused possibly by the studied ambiguity of the poet, I fully admit. "But never will I, for the purpose of uttering my predictions, never will I expose thy misfortunes." It seems to me that the full pause of the cæsura at εἴπω favours the above reading rather than any of the others which have been proposed. For examples of the repetition of the negative—which to me in this passage appears highly natural—Elmsley refers to Hermann's note on *Antig.* 5, 6;

ὁποῖον οὐ

τῶν σῶν τε κάμῶν οὐκ ὅπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν.

Cf. *Æsch. Ag.* 1634;—

ὅς οὐκ, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόνον,

δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως.

862. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν πράξαμ' ἂν ὦν οὐ σοὶ φίλον.

In a note on this line in the last number of the *Journal of Philology*, p. 385, I spoke of what seemed to me the causeless repetition of ἂν; which I proposed to remedy by reading γὰρ οὐν for γὰρ ἂν. In *Antig.* 390,

σχολῇ γ' ἂν ἤξειν δεῦρ' ἂν ἐξήχουν ἐγώ,



the first *ἀν* is due to “margo Turnebi et codex Triclinianus Dresdensis,” the old books rightly giving

σχολῇ ποτ' ἤξειν κ.τ.λ.

1084.

τοιόσδε δ' ἐκφύς οὐκ ἂν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι

ποτ' ἄλλος, ὥστε μὴ 'κμαθεῖν τοῦμὸν γένος.

‘Proculdubio mendosum est ποτ' ἄλλος in initio senarii. Quid scribendum sit, nondum video’—Elmsl., perhaps rightly. Dindorf quotes in opposition *Trachin.* 830, (where ποτέ stands first in the sentence merely by his own correction of the passage) and *Aj.* 986,

δῆτ' αὐτὸν ἄξεις δεῦρο, κ.τ.λ.

which Elmsley easily corrected by transposing δῆτα and δεῦρο. In Aristoph. *Nub.* 398 (quoted by Dindorf on the *Ajax*),

καὶ πῶς, ὦ μῶρέ σὺ καὶ Κρονίων ὄζων καὶ βεκεσεληνε,

εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, δῆτ' οὐχὶ Σίμων' ἐνέπρησεν;

if the reading be sound, δῆτα can hardly be said to stand first, being as it is in close connexion with καὶ πῶς. In our passage, if ποτέ be inadmissible, it is not easy to see what to substitute in its place, yet so daring are sometimes our poet's licences, that I will not take on myself to pronounce that the passage of the *Ædipus Tyrannus* and the passage of the *Ajax* do not confirm and defend each other.

1341.

ἀπάγετ', ὦ φίλοι, τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν.

So stands this line in Elmsley's and Dindorf's editions, the last words being an emendation of Turnebus, ‘et sententiâ et versu certissima,’ according to Ellendt (*Lex. Soph.* s. v. ὄλεθρος). The manuscripts, without a single exception, and also the edition of Aldus, give us ὀλέθριον in place of ὄλεθρον, and for μέγαν “codices aliquot μέγα, quod propter ὀλέθριον scripserunt librarii.” (Dind.) Now I admit that the correction of Turnebus is very alluring from its simplicity and from the smallness of the change from the reading of the books; but is there not an insuperable and fatal objection to it in the order of the words? Surely τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν in this sentence is not Greek. It should be either τὸν μέγαν ὄλεθρον or ὄλεθρον τὸν μέγαν, just as in the passage of Aristophanes (*Fragm.* 309 Dind.) quoted by Elmsley, we have

ἄγχουσαν, ὄλεθρον τὸν βαθύν, ψιμμύθιον.

It was a sense, probably, of this difficulty that induced Erfurdt to edit τὸν μέγ' ὀλέθριον. I have sometimes thought that τὸν ὀλοὸν

μέγα would equally suit the sense of the passage, and be nearer the readings of the MSS. But I shall be very willing to accede to any conjecture more plausible, convinced as I am that that of Turnebus will not stand in grammar\*.

This passage reminds me of the very questionable constructions in *Aj.* 571:

καὶ τὰμὰ τεύχη μήτ' ἀγωνάρχαι τινὲς  
θήσουσ' Ἀχαιοῖς μήθ' ὁ λυμεὼν ἐμός—

and Eurip. *Hippol.* 683,

— Ζεὺς σ' ὁ γεννήτωρ ἐμός  
πρόρριζον ἐκτρίψειεν οὐτάσας πυρί.

Mr Shilleto corrects μήτε λυμεὼν ἐμός, and Ζεὺς σε γεννήτωρ ἐμός. Dindorf defends the old readings.

S.

PITT CLUB.

January 4, 1855.

#### V. On the insertion of Mutes in Greek.

Dr Donaldson says in the *New Cratylus*, section 217 b, that “the Greek ear seems to have been particularly averse to the immediate concurrence of  $\mu\lambda$ ,  $\mu\rho$ ,  $\nu\rho$ ,  $\sigma\lambda$ , &c.—and whenever by contraction or otherwise any of these pairs of liquids have come in contact, the mute which bears the nearest relation to the first of them is inserted.” Among the instances given are μέμ-β-λεται for μεμ-ληται, (μεμέληται); μέμ-β-λωκα for μέμ-λωκα; γαμ-β-ρὸς for γαμ-ρὸς (γαμερός); μεσημ-β-ρία for μεσημ-ρία; ὄμ-β-ρος for ὄμ-ρος (cf. Lat. humor) and ἀν-δ-ρὸς for ἀν-ρὸς (άνερος).

There can of course be no question but that these results are correctly stated; but I cannot help thinking that Dr Donaldson is wrong as to the principle on which he accounts for the insertion of the mute. The *mouth*, I think, rather than the *ear* of the Greeks is the organ to which the origin of the intercalated mute is to be traced. For let any one pronounce ὄμ-ρος for himself attending carefully to the sound which he produces, and I am much mistaken if he does not become conscious of a tendency to pronounce it ομ-β-ρος.—Nay, I believe it is not too much to say that he will find that a certain effort is necessary in order to pronounce the word, without the insertion of at any rate a

[\* Perhaps τὸν δλεθρόν μ' ἄγαν.]

faint sound of  $\beta$ . The same observations, *mutatis mutandis*, will also apply to the other instances.

And this may very easily be accounted for, if we attend to the physical process of articulation in these cases. When we have pronounced the first syllable  $\alpha\mu$ , the lips are closed and probably slightly pressed together. In order to pronounce the next syllable  $\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , the lips must be opened again and the breath slightly exhaled. Now how do we produce the sound of  $\beta$ ? Precisely by this very process of compressing the lips, and opening them again with a slight expiration.

The insertion of  $\delta$  in  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  takes place in almost exactly the same manner. After pronouncing  $\alpha\nu$  the teeth are shut—to pronounce  $\rho\alpha\varsigma$  they must be opened with an expiration; and this is precisely the process we should employ, if we wanted simply to produce the sound of  $\delta$ . Thus the instances quoted are not so much the result of any subtler sense of hearing in the Greeks, as of a physical necessity arising from the conformation of the mouth in the human species.

The insertion of  $\theta$  in  $\epsilon\sigma-\theta-\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  for  $\epsilon\sigma-\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  (one of the instances mentioned in the *New Cratylus*) I confess I find some difficulty in accounting for on this principle. Probably, however, if we knew the exact manner in which the letter  $\theta$  was pronounced by the Greeks, this case likewise might easily be accounted for. I am inclined to think that the Greeks pronounced it (as the French and other modern nations do *th*) like our *t*. If this be so I think its insertion may be accounted for in the same way as that of the  $\delta$  in  $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ . The importance in reference to philological investigations, of ascertaining, as far as we can from such data as we possess, the genuine pronunciation of the classical languages is not by any means sufficiently recognised. Similar considerations to those stated above will I believe account for many other changes which though somewhat startling to the eye when written, are by no means equally so to the ear when spoken. Let it be remembered too that the greater part of these changes took place while the language was only spoken, and had not yet become fixed and consolidated by the general employment of writing.

STARLING DAY.



## VI. On the epithet 'stumpfingered' applied to St Mark.

In the *Refutatio Hæresium* of S. Hippolytus (p. 252, Miller's Edition) the Evangelist S. Mark is called ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος. The word bears obvious marks of genuineness. That a blunder should produce a word at once so long, so rare, so correctly formed and so intelligible, would be an instance of good fortune, such as seldom falls to the lot of a blunderer. Yet M. Bunsen at once sets it down as corrupt. "Pray correct the words," he says in his 1st Edition; and then proposes ὁ καλῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος, with this comment:—"He calls Mark the teacher of good words (doctrines), instead of the 'evangelist' (which means the same), in order to avoid repetition, and perhaps also for the sake of the play upon the word λόγοι. There are worse corruptions of the text than this." The latter statement may, perhaps, be doubted. Dr Scott also (Arnold's *Theological Critic*, Vol. II. p. 534) "being equally astounded at the epithet," "had made a guess that it might be some word like κολοβιόστολος, which might have been a traditional description of S. Mark." Why a personal defect might not serve to describe the Evangelist quite as well as a peculiar dress does not appear. Dr S. thinks, however, that "all this guess-work is superseded by the Rev. T. K. Arnold's suggestion of ἀκόλουθος (as latent in κολοβο-)," to which he would add ἀποστόλου.—Mr Arnold's suggestion being, as he explains in a footnote, "ἀκόλουθος (ὦν) Παύλου, as opposed to Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος." Finally M. Bunsen, in his 2nd Edition, says:—"I adopt without hesitation the emendation of Scott:—ὁ ἀκόλουθος ἀποστόλου," the article being apparently Bunsen's own addition.

Few, I think, would hesitate to prefer the corruption, if it be such, to any of these so-called corrections. If, however, the word does not sufficiently recommend itself, it may receive some support from the following passage in the Preface prefixed to S. Mark's Gospel in the earlier printed editions of the Vulgate, and ascribed to S. Jerome:—"Denique amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur ut sacerdotio reprobis haberetur, sed tantum consentiens fidei prædestinata potuit electio ut nec sic in opere verbi perderet quod prius meruerat in genere." The Preface is not given in the Benedictine Edition of S. Jerome's Works: but it is contained in the Codex Amiatinus, which was written "non plus centum et viginti annos post ipsius Hieronymi mortem."

See Prolegomena to Tischendorf's edition of this MS. pp. vii—xi. Hence, whoever the author of this preface may be, and whatever becomes of the "inepta fabula" (so Henschenius calls it, *Acta SS.* Apr. Tom. III. p. 346) as it there stands, the passage is sufficient to prove that the tradition referred to by S. Hippolytus was in existence in the first half of the 6th century. The epithet may, perhaps, preserve to us a true tradition, the nucleus out of which the story in the preface was subsequently developed.

J. S. W.

VII. *On the Fragment of a Hymn to Æsculapius preserved by St Hippolytus on Heresies.*

As neither Miller in his edition of this recently discovered work, nor E. W. Benson in his remarks on the Fragment, have been able by their proposed alterations to remove the numerous difficulties to be found in the Greek text, I have been led to try my hand at it. I propose therefore to read

Σκότος δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ ποιήσας (ὁ μάγος), ἐπεισάγειν φάσκει Θεοὺς ἢ δαίμονας, καί<sup>1</sup>, ἑαυτὸν ἀπαιτήσας Ἀσκληπιὸν<sup>1</sup> δεικνύναι, ἐπικαλεῖται ἔπεισι<sup>2</sup> λέγων·

Ζηνί<sup>3</sup> πάλαι φθίμενον, πάλιν<sup>4</sup> ἄφθιτον Ἀπόλλωνι<sup>4</sup>,  
<sup>5</sup> κικλήσκω λοιβαῖς σε<sup>5</sup> μολεῖν ἐπήρην<sup>6</sup> ἐμαῖσιν.  
<sup>7</sup> ὃς καταβὰς νεκῶν ἀμενηνῶν μυρία φύλα<sup>7</sup>  
 Ταρτάρου εὐρώεντος<sup>8</sup> ἐνὶ κλαυτοῖσι μελάθροισι<sup>8</sup>  
<sup>9</sup> δύσνοστον τ' ἀνάπλω<sup>9</sup> ρόον<sup>10</sup> ἐγκελαδοῦντά τ' ἄναυλα<sup>10</sup>,  
<sup>10</sup> πᾶσιν ἴσ' οὐ τέλε' ἔστ' ἄνδρεςσι (κατὰ) θητοῖσι,  
 λίμνη πᾶρ<sup>12</sup> τὰ γοῶντ' ἰνδάλματα Κωκυτοῖο<sup>12</sup>  
 πρῶτος<sup>13</sup> ἀμειδῆτοιο ἐρύσσαο Φερσεφονείης,  
 εἴτ' ἐφέπεις Θρήκης σκιερῆς<sup>14</sup> ἔδος, εἴτ' ἐρατεινὴν  
 Πέργαμον, εἴτ' ἐπ'<sup>15</sup> ἀγροῖσιν λαινομένην<sup>15</sup> Ἐπίδαυρον,  
 δεῦρο, μάκαρ—καλέει σε<sup>16</sup> μάγευμ', ὥς δεῖ σε, φάνηθι<sup>16</sup>.

1—1. MS. εἰπεῖν ἀπαίτης Ἀσκληπιόν: where evidently lies hid ἑαυτὸν ἀπαιτήσας Ἀσκληπιόν.

2. MS. οὕτως. This is perhaps admissible. But ἔπεισι, 'heroic verses,' would point more distinctly to the nature of the invocation. On the loss by corruption of ἔπος I could say not a little, if this were the place for such things.

3. MS. Ζῆνα. In lieu of which Miller reads, with the approbation of Benson, γῖα. But those scholars forgot that Æsculapius was destroyed by Zeus, and restored to life by Apollo; who for

such act of kindness to his son was expelled from heaven, as we learn from Eurip. Alcest.

4—4. MS. ἄμβροτον Ἀπόλλωνος. But the balance of the sentence requires ἄφθιτον Ἀπόλλωνι. To the fate of Æsculapius there is an allusion Æsch. Agam. 991, where it is passing strange that not a single critic should have seen, what is obvious enough, that the dramatist wrote—Οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ | τὰ φθιμένων ἀνάγειν | Ζεὺς θνατὸν εἶα σεν πάλιν αὖ βιωῖναι | not Οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ | τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν | Ζεὺς αὐτ' ἔπαυσεν ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ γε |—at variance alike with syntax, sense, and metre. Nor was it without design that Æschylus introduced here θνατόν, for he knew that Apollo was said to have rendered his son immortal. The sense then would be in English,

Nor e'en him, who the dead brought back,

Did Zeus suffer to live as a mortal again.

5—5. MS. κικλησκοιο βαισι μολεῖν. Here too evidently is hid κικλήσκω λοιβαῖς σε μολεῖν. And hence we can understand that the magician in pronouncing those words made a libation; just as the *φαρμακeutria* does in Theocritus, Πάσσω' ἄλα, καὶ λέγε ταῦτα—τὰ Δελφίδος ὅστέα πάσσω—and as the *sagæ* do in Horace, and the witches in Macbeth.

6. Although ἐπίκουρον could stand very well, if mention were made of difficulties for which aid was required, yet, if my λοιβαῖς be correct, the proper word would be ἐπίηρος, as shewn by Hesychius in a series of glosses, which should be thus arranged. Ἐπίηρα· τὴν μετ' ἐπικουρίας χάριν μεγάλην ἢ ἐκ περιουσίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος “Ἐπιήρανα θυμοῦ Καὶ ποδάνιπτρα,” ἐπικουρητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ποδῶν. Ἐπίηρος· ἐπίκουρος, ἐπιθυμητής, βοηθός, χάριν ἀποδιδούς· where the interpretations ἐπιθυμητής, ‘turning the mind to,’ and χάριν ἀποδιδούς, ‘returning a favor,’ are just what are suited to the passage in hand.

7—7. MS. ὅς ποτε καὶ—φῦλα. But as there is no verb to govern φῦλα I have suggested ὅς καταβάς—an alteration to which no one would object who knows that κ and π, and β and κ, are constantly confounded, as shewn by the writers on Palæography.

8—8. MS. αἰκανστοῖσι μελάθροισι. Here too, since μελάθροισι is without regimen, I have suggested ἐνὶ κλαντοῖσι μελάθροισι—where Δ has been changed into Α.

9—9. MS. δύσνοστον ἀπλόεντα. Here at first sight indeed Benson's ἀπλόον τε appears plausible enough. But he forgot that the river Styx was sailed over by Charon's boat: and though



νόστος does mean sometimes 'a road merely,' and not always 'a return,' as Bentley was the first to remark, and after him Schæfer in *Meletem. Crit.* p. 90, and Hermann on *Iph. A.* 822, and *Iph. T.* 1065, yet here the idea of a return could not be dispensed with, as shewn by Virgil's 'facilis descensus Averni: Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras, Hic labor, hoc opus est.' I have therefore introduced Δύσνοστόν τ' ἀνάπλφ.

10—10. MS. κέλαδόν τε δίαυλον. But as there was no sailing back in Hades there could be no δίαυλος. I have therefore been led to ἐγκελαδοῦντά τ' ἄναυλα—For in the grave the cheerful sound of the pipe is never heard. To complete however the metre and sense I have altered κέλαδόν τε into ἐγκελαδοῦντά τ'. Benson too suggests κελάδοντα. But κελαδεῖν is always a verb contract.

11—11. MS. πᾶσιν ἴσον τελέσαντ'. Here Benson would read τελέσας. But I confess I cannot see how τελέσας can be applied to Æsculapius. I have therefore introduced πᾶσιν ἴσ' οὐ τέλε' ἔστ'—remembering κύρος ἰσοτέλεστος Ἀἰδός in *Ed. C.* 1221.

12—12. MS. γοόοντα καὶ ἄλλυτα κωκύοντα. But as γοόοντα and κωκύοντα are too nearly synonymous to be thus found in the same verse, and as ἄλλυτα could scarcely be united to κωκύοντα in the sense of 'endlessly,' and the mention of ghosts could hardly be dispensed with, I have introduced τὰ γόωντ' ἰνδάλματα Κωκυτοῖο—remembering the gloss in Hesych. Ἰνδάλματα φαντάσματα. As regards the syntax Κωκυτοῖο must be united to πᾶρ λίμνη.

13. MS. αὐτός. Which is a corruption of ἄτος, i. e. πρῶτος, a point on which I could write a great deal more than readers would be found to relish.

14. MS. Θρήκης ἱέρῃς. But Thrace would be more properly described as σκιερῃς, what I have introduced.

15. MS. ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἰαονίαν. Here Benson, unable to make the least sense out of τοῖσιν, at first wished to read ἐπ' ἄκροισιν, but afterwards ἐπιδῶτα. The latter word is however not sufficiently near to the 'ductus literarum,' even if it could be shewn directly, as it may be perhaps inferred indirectly, that Æsculapius was one of the deities worshipped at Epidaurus to whom that title was given. The other reading comes nearer the mark. For the text was originally, I suspect, ἐπ' ἀγροῖσιν ἱανομένην—a conjecture to which I have been led by the gloss in *Etymol. M.* Λιμήρη Πίνδαρος—ἡ παρὰ τοῦ λειμωνήρη, λειμήρη· οὕτως Ἑρωδιανός: where *Berkelius* on *Steph. Byz.* Ἐπίδαυρος happily corrects Πίνδαρος into

Ἐπίδαυρος. Now as Epidaurus was a place surrounded by hills, as we learn from Strabo, viii. 15, it would naturally be described as 'being gladdened by the fields' at the foot of the hills.

16—16. MS. μάγων ὄδε. Here Benson suggested μάγων ὄδε — ὄμιλος. But from the preceding ἐμαῖσι, and from the words ὁ μάγος in St Hippolytus, it must, I think, be evident that there was only one μάγος, and hence I have introduced μάγευμ', ὥς δεῖ σε, φάνηθι, to complete at once the verse and sense.

G. B.

[G. B.'s restoration of Ζηνὶ can hardly be wrong: but he does not explain how ἀφθιτον Ἀπόλλωνι, any more than ἄμβροτον Ἀπόλλωνι, can mean "made immortal by Apollo"; it would rather be "incapable of being destroyed by Apollo," which gives no sense. On the other hand, if M. Miller's Υἱὰ is given up, the latter part of the line requires some correction: but we need only remove a single letter, reading ΠΑΙΝ for ΠΑΙΝ. The form πᾶιν for παῖδα, from the old Epic nom. πᾶϊς, is recognized by Buttmann (*Ausf. Gr.* i. p. 232), as used by Apollonius Rhodius and later even Attic writers. It occurs several times in the Anthology. We shall then have

Ζηνὶ πάλαι φθίμενον πᾶιν ἄμβροτον Ἀπόλλωνος  
Κικλήσκω λουβαῖσι μολεῖν ἐπίκουρον ἐμαῖσιν.

In line 2 G. B. is again probably right in reading λουβαῖς, or rather λουβαῖσι, for σε is not wanted. Lines 5 and 6 are the most difficult. Miller and Benson's κελάδοντα διάυλον seems unquestionable, but ἀπλόεντα of the MS. suggests ἄ πλέοντα: in that case we may read δυσνόστων—ρόων governed by διάυλον (in the sense of "strait" or "channel"), itself governed by πλέοντα: on the latter construction see Lobeck on Soph. Aj. 30. In the next line, two syllables being certainly wanting to complete the metre, all our critics lop off one syllable in one place, add one in a second, and add two more in a third,—all without diplomatic confirmation. The MS. has ἅπασιν ἴσον τελέσ' ἀνδράσι θνητοῖσι, which should probably be εἶλεν ἅπασιν ἴσον τέλος ἀνδρεσσι θνητοῖσι, the first word having been perhaps absorbed by the preceding διάυλον: τέλος of course is the subject of εἶλεν, which governs ἄ. These readings make the distance between ὄς—φύλα and ἐρύσσαι much less awkward, by introducing a relative clause of two lines, which will stand thus,

(Δυσνόστων ἄ πλέοντα ρόων κελάδοντα διάυλον  
εἶλεν ἅπασιν ἴσον τέλος ἀνδρεσσι θνητοῖσι.).

In line 10 ἐπὶ τοῖσιν is surely not "unendurable," but Mr Munro's suggestion ἐπὶ πᾶσιν is more forcible.

F. J. A. H.]

VIII. On *Philippians* ii. 12.

ἡπακούσατε . . . μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου. The position of the phrase μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου is such that it may be connected either with the words that precede or with those that follow. It occurs in two other passages of St Paul's epistles: and it is remarkable that in both cases it occurs in connexion with *submission to authority*. The first of these is 2 Cor. vii. 15: καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ (Τίτου) περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἀναμιμνησκομένου τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν, ὡς μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἐδέξασθε αὐτόν. The second is Eph. vi. 5: οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις κατὰ σάρκα μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου. Here then are two clear instances of the Pauline usage of this expression, denoting *awe and reverence*\* for authority. Since, if we adopt a different punctuation, it stands in a precisely similar connexion in the present passage, why should it not here also receive the same interpretation?

P.

IX. *Novarum lectionum et emendationum Specimen, in Parthenio, Longo, Xenophonte Ephesio, Charitone, Heliodoro, Achille Tatío.*

Eroticos Græcos (ad quos Parthenius proprie non pertinet), viri celeberrimi<sup>1</sup> a renatis inde literis fere<sup>2</sup> omnes, summis celebraverunt laudibus; sed hodie quidem nemo est, qui non observet et sentiat illos dicendi ratione, ingenio, doctrina, elegantia nimium quantum ab aurea ætatis scriptoribus differre.

Hos edere<sup>3</sup> parans, multa nova subsidia critica nactus sum; Heliodori duorum codicum Viennensium (sæc. xiv.) lectiones (quos notabo A et B), codicis Florentini ab amico C. G. Cobet denuo collati lectiones, qui continet Longum, Xenophontem Ephesium, Charitonem et Achillis Tatii partem; quarum lectionum specimen accipiat eruditus lector, interjectis quibusdam emendationibus; quod ad Parthenium et Achillem T. (quum in

<sup>1</sup> Testimonia Scaligeri, Nicolai Rigaltii, Mureti, Salmasii, G. Canteri, Hemsterhusii, Villosioni, Wytttenbachii, vide in præfationibus quas Jacobsius Achillis Tatii, de Sinner Longi, Mitscherlichius Eroticorum editioni præfixerunt. Cf. et Dunlop, History of Fiction.

<sup>2</sup> Excipitur v. c. Huetus in erudito libello, cui titulus, Lettre de Mr Huet à Mr de Segrain de l'origine des Romans à Paris; p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Brevi nostra editio prodibit Parisiis in celeberrima officina Ambrosii Firmini Didot.



hoc auctore cod. Florent. nil bonæ frugis afferat) attinet, emendationum δείγμα dare tantum mihi licuit.

<sup>4</sup> Cæterum hos sæc. III. IV. et V. auctores legens, illud sæpe mecum cogitavi, quom utile sit, et hujus ætatis Græcitatem bene nosse, non tantum ut quantopere hæc ab Attica dialecto differat, intelligamus, sed etiam ut, si quid a librariis qui his temporibus vivebant in aureæ ætatis auctoribus mutatum aut additum sit, ex istius ætatis dicendi ratione, id et celeriter perspiciamus et cuivis ostendere et probare possimus <sup>5</sup>.

### De Parthenio.

Quum auctor jucundissimi libelli, qui inscribitur, de amatoriiis affectibus, ex antiquis Ionicis scriptoribus fabulas suas hauserit, et Ionici styli simplicitatem imitatus sit et adhibeat passim <sup>6</sup> formas Ionicas verborum etc. et <sup>7</sup> verba Ionicis usitata; fere tamen suæ ætatis id est s. I. dicendi ratione <sup>8</sup> utatur, magna cum cautione corrupta emendanda sunt. Bene hunc emendaverunt

<sup>4</sup> Sic v. c. α) ἔργον γίνεσθαι τινας *interfici ab aliquo*, quod dum apud Plutarchum occurrit in vita Eumenis.— ἡ λοιπὴ χεὶρ pro ἡ ἑτέρα χ.—πατεῖν pro ὑβρίζειν.—καταλογεῖν = καταφρονεῖν.—ὁδεύειν et συνοδεύειν = βαδίζειν.—δεσμεύειν = δεῖν.—ἐκδικεῖν = τιμωρεῖσθαι.—ἔδεσμα = σίτος.—ἀπατώμαι *falsam opinionem habere*.—οἰστότερον pro ῥῶον φέρειν (comparativ. nusquam, ni fallor, apud Atticos occurrit).—αὐτοπατεῖν (αὐτόπτης adhibetur).—ἐπάγῃ pro ἐξεπλάγῃ.—ἀνδρίζεσθαι = ἀνὴρ γίνεσθαι.

β) Multa nova in ἡριον quæ desinunt. v. c. πειρατήριον, οἰκητήριον = οἰκίδιον.—νικητήριον = ἀθλον.

γ) Nova compos. cum a priv. ἀψευδεῖν, ἀλκανος, ἀπαραπόδιστος, ἀνενόχλητος, ἀδίγηγτος, ἀτεχνος, ἀρῶ = ἀχθομαι.

δ) Compos. cum præpos. περιουσία = οὐσία.—ἐξηγητῆς (v. c. τῆς ὁδοῦ pro ἡγεμῶν) et ἐξηγεῖσθαι pro ἡγεῖσθαι.—ἐξαίρω (apud Atticos, *auferre*, pro αἰρεῖν *augere*.—προσαπαντᾶν pro ὑπαντᾶν.—διαπωλεῖν quod formaverent uti διατίθεσθαι Atticorum.—ἀποστεφανοῦν *corona privare*.—προφθῆναι pro simplici φθῆναι.

ε) Constructiones et dicendi rationes Atticis inauditæ ab his adhibentur, v. c. ὀφθῆναι φοβερός pro ἰδεῖν φ.—ἐρχομαι προσεὔξασθαι pro ἔρχ. προσευξόμενος.—οὐ φέρω ζῆν pro βλον.—μεταπέμπομαι τινα ὡς ἐμέ.—οὐδαμοῦ τίθεμαι pro παρ' οὐδὲν τ.—εἰς μέσους παρελθεῖν pro εἰς μέσον.—ἔφελον ἡδυνάμην pro infinitivo.—ἐπὶ τὴν ὦν ἤκουσε λύπην pro ἐπὶ τὴν λ. ὦν ἦκ.—τουτοις τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῖς ἐμοῖς quem Attici ad τὸ δεικτικὸν οὐτοσί numquam pron. poss. addant.

ζ) Ne de formis verborum dicam, ἐλεύσομαι, μετελεύσομαι, σκόπησον, ἐπαινῆξει similibus.

<sup>5</sup> v. c. apud Xenoph. I. 2, 26 hæc leguntur, Κῆρος δὲ μετεπέμπετο τὸν Σύνε- νεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν. Hoc πρὸς ἑαυτὸν librario redde qui eroticorum tempore vixit.

<sup>6</sup> v. c. αὔτις, ἀπεδιδύσκοντο, κατικέ- τευεν.

<sup>7</sup> v. c. ἀρμόσασθαι pro γαμεῖν, θοῖνῃ, καταθύμιος.

<sup>8</sup> v. c. ἀρμόδιος εἶναι pro χαρίζεσθαι, καταλογεῖν pro καταφρονεῖν, καθομολογεῖσθαι pro ἐκδιδόναι, etc.

Scaligerus<sup>9</sup>, Heynius, Legrand, Bastius (qui unicum codicem Palatinum in quo noster legitur, iterum contulit), et Passovius in novissima Parthenii editione. Quæ quum ita sint, brève hoc specimen emendationum in Parthenio sufficiat.

C. IV. in. 'Ο—'Αλέξανδρος αὐτὴν ἀγαγόμενος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς Ἴδην—εἶχε γυναῖκα, καὶ αὐτῇ φιλοφρονούμενος (adde ὤμοσε) μηδαμὰ προλείψειν, ἐν περισσοτέρᾳ τε τιμῇ ἄξειν κ.τ.έ. Cobetus ἔξειν pro ἄξειν.

C. V. in. Δεύκιππος δέ, Ξανθίου παῖς, γένος τῶν ἀπὸ Βελλεροφόντου, διαφέρων ἰσχυρὴ μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἥσκει τὰ πολεμικά. Διὸ πολὺς λόγος ἦν περὶ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τε Λυκίοις καὶ τοῖς προσεχέσι τούτοις, ἅτε δὴ ἀγομείς (καὶ φερομένοις) καὶ πᾶν ὅτιοῦν δυσχερὲς πάσχουσιν. Cobetus bene videt καὶ φερ. a librariis omissum esse.

C. VIII. in. Ὅτε δ' οἱ Γάλαται κατέδραμον τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθουν, ἐν Μελήτῳ Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων, καὶ συνηθροισμένων γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὃ βραχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχει, ἀποσπασθέν τι μέρος τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ διῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Μιλησίαν, καὶ ἑξαπιναιῶς ἐπιδραμὸν εἶλεν τὰς γυναῖκας. Scalig. bene εἶλεν pro ἀνείλεν. Statim hæc sequuntur; Ἐνθα δὴ τὰς μὲν ἐρύσαντο,—τινὲς δέ, τῶν βαρβάρων αὐταῖς οἰκειωθέντων, ἀπήχθησαν, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ Ἡρίπη, γυνὴ Ξάνθου, ἀνδρὸς ἐν Μελήτῳ πάνυ δοκίμου, γένος τε τοῦ πρώτου, παιδίον ἀπολιποῦσα διετές. Pro ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς auctorem dedisse suspicor, ἐν δὲ abjecto αὐταῖς, quod poeticum; quemadmodum bis terve noster habet μετὰ δὲ id est postea, quum quatuor aliis locis additum sit μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον, ubi suspicor seriores librariorum hujus dicendi rationis ignaros, ista adjecisse: præterea γένους τε τοῦ πρώτου videtur explicatio τοῦ δοκίμου: cf. v. c. c. XXXII. μειρακίσκος τις τῶν πάνυ δοκίμων Ἀνθίπης ἡράσθη. et c. VII. in.

C. XVII. in. καθομολογοσαμένου δὲ τοῦ Περιάνδρου πάντα ποιήσιν—mater—εἰσέρχεται παρὰ τὸν παῖδα, καὶ πρὶν ἢ περιφαίνειν ἔω λαθραῖως ἔξεισιν. Imo ὑποφαίνειν. In seqq. Bastius recte εἰ αὐτὶς θέλοι—ἀφίκεσθαι pro λέγοι. Paucis interjectis κελεύει τινὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἰκετῶν κ.τ.έ. dele οἰκετῶν.

C. XVIII. in. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἷα τε ἦν πείθειν αὐτόν. Imo οἷα ἦν "parata erat."

C. XXV. in. Φάλλλος δὲ τύραννος κ.τ.έ. Imo Φ. δ' ὁ τυρ.

C. XXIX. in. Ἐν Σικελίᾳ δὲ Δάφνις Ἑρμοῦ παῖς ἐγένετο, σύριγγί τε δεξιῶς χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἰδεὰν ἐκπρεπής. Jam Scalig. recte δεξιός.

<sup>9</sup> Quæ Scaligeri, Hemsterhusii, aliorum hic et in reliquis eroticis citantur emendationes, plæræque ineditæ sunt,

propriaque horum virorum manu ad marginem editionum scriptæ; servantur in Bibl. Lugd. Batav.

C. XXXV. in. Κύδων διέκλήρου τὰς παρθένους πάσας καὶ κατὰ δαίμονα ἢ θυγάτηρ τυγχάνει. Bene Heynius λαγχάνει.

C. XXXVI. Αὕτη τὴν μὲν κατ' οἶκον δίαιταν ἀπέστνγεν (l. ἀπεστύγει), ἀθροισαμένη δὲ κύνας πολλοὺς ἐθήρευεν. Lege πολλὰς nam fem. usurpatur de canibus venaticis. In fine fabulae Ῥῆσος δὲ μαλακίζόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ μονῇ οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἦλθεν εἰς Τροίαν κ.τ.έ. Cobetus μάλα κακιζόμενος ἐπὶ κ.τ.έ.—Ἡ δ' ὥς ἦσθετο τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ, αὐτὶς ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἔνθ' ἐμίγη πρῶτον αὐτῷ κ.τ.έ. Passovius adnotat “codicem αὐτὶς habere: en quo Legrandii conjectura confirmetur αὐθις.” Sed si in cod. αὐτὶς, minime id mutandum: quando sensus doceret recte hic αὐτὶς (id est formam Ionicam pro αὐθις) stare posse; sed hic malim αὐτίκα, nam quid significat, iterum abiit in locum? Hoc iterum hic jejunum et otiosum est.

### Longi Pastoralia.

Lib. I. c. XII. Daphnis in foveam inciderat, quem inde extraxit Chloë, quo facto, αὐτοὶ ἐπανελθόντες ἐπεσκοποῦντο τὴν ποιμνὴν καὶ τὸ αἰπόλιον· καὶ ἐπεὶ κατέμαθον ἐν κόσμῳ νομῆς καὶ τὰς αἴγας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, καθίσαντες ὑπὸ στελέχει δρυὸς ἐσκόπουν μὴ τι μέρος τοῦ σώματος ὁ Δάφνις ἤμαξ καταπεσών. Pro ΝΟΜΗΚΑΙ lege ΝΟΜΕΘΑΙ, id est “cum vidissent capras et oves decente ordine pascere.”

Ib. c. XIII. in. Ad fontem stans Daphnis corpus lavat, ἐδόκει δὲ τῇ Χλόῃ θεωμένη καλὸς ὁ Δάφνις, καὶ ὅτι πρότερον αὐτῇ καλὸς ἐδόκει, τὸ λουτρὸν ἐνόμιζε τοῦ κάλλους αἴτιον. Sic in cod. legitur: Cobetus post ὅτι, omissum esse τότε videt.

Ib. c. XVI. in. Dorco cum Daphnide certamen init de pulchritudine: ἐγώ, inquit, μείζων εἰμὶ Δάφνιδος.—Οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ μικρὸς—νέμει δὲ τράγους ὁδῶ . . . δεινόν. In cod. ὁδῶδ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινόν. Paullo inferius idem dicit “νέμω δὲ τράγους ὡς τούτους βοῶν μείζοντας . . . ἔω . . . οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κ.τ.έ. Cod. νέμω δὲ τράγους τῶν τούτου βοῶν μείζοντας ἔω δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν; μετ' apparet, reliqua non item; lectionis interpolatae, quam memorat Courierius, nullum vestigium.

Ib. c. XXIV. in. Τῆς δὲ μεσημβρίας ἐπελθούσης ἐγένετο ἡδὴ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλωσις αὐτοῖς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ γυμνὸν ὀρώσα τὸν Δάφνιν, ἐπ' ἀνθοῦν ἐνέπιπτε τὸ κάλλος κ.τ.έ. Cod. ἐπ' ἀνθοῦν ἐνέπιπτε, id est, in omnem ejus pulchritudinem simul incidebat.

Ib. c. XXVII. in. Fabula de palumbe narratur, “ἦν οὕτω, παρθένη, παρθένος καλὴ καὶ ἔνεμε βοῦς πολλὰς οὕτως ἐν ἡλικίᾳ· ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ ὠδικὴ κ.τ.έ. Cod. οὕτως ἐν ὕλῃ.



Lib. II. c. v. in. Philetæ seni Cupido apparet . . . οὔτοι παῖς (ait) ἐγὼ καὶ εἰ δοκῶ παῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Κρόνου πρεσβύτερος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. Καὶ σὲ οἶδα νέμοντα πρωθήβην ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔλει τὸ πλατὺ βουκόλιον. Quid in palude? Sed cod. ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὄρει.

Ib. c. xxv. fin. Exercitui Methymnæorum terror incidit ἐβόα τις ὀπλίζεσθαι τὸν στρατηγόν· ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐκάλει, καὶ τετρώσθαι τις ἐδόκει καὶ σχήμά τις ἔκειτο νεκροῦ. Cod. κὰν σχήματι ἔκειτο, id est, erat qui cadaveris faciem præ se ferret.

Ib. c. xxxiv. in. Enarratur fabula de Syringe; “αὕτη ἡ σύριγξ τὸ ὄργανον οὐκ ἦν ὄργανον, ἀλλὰ παρθένος καλὴ κ.τ.έ. Cobetus τὸ ἀρχαῖον” hæc fistula olim non erat instrumentum sed virgo forma bona etc.

Lib. III. c. xxi. Navis piscatoria oram legit ἤρεττον ἐρρωμένως· ἠπείγοντο γὰρ νεαλεῖς ἰχθῦς τῶν πετραιῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν διασώσασθαι τῶν τινι πλουσιῶν. En Cod. additum τῶν πετραιῶν.

Ib. c. xxii. Ἡ δὲ Χλόη τότε πρῶτον πειρωμένη τῆς καλουμένης ἠχοῦς, ποτὲ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπέβλεπε, τῶν ναυτῶν κελευόντων, ποτὲ δ' εἰς τὴν ὕλην ὑπέστρεφε, ζητοῦσα τοὺς ἀντιφωνοῦντας. Cod. εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑπέστρ.

Ib. c. xxvi. in. Daphnis Chloës patri se persuasurum sperat “ἐν αὐτὸν ἐτάραττεν· οὐκ ἦν Δάμων πλούσιος· τοῦτ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα μόνον λεπτὴν ἐποιήσατο. Cod. πλούσιος, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐλεύθερος εἰ καὶ πλούσιος.

Lib. IV. c. xxxiii. Οἱ μὲν τῷ Διονυσοφάνει συνήδοντο παῖδα εὐρόντι, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀρώντες τὸ κάλλος τοῦ Δάφνιδος· αἱ δὲ τῇ Κλεαριστῇ συνέχαιρον ἄμα κομιζούσῃ καὶ παῖδα καὶ νύμφην. Ἐξέπλησσε γὰρ κακείνας ἡ Χλόη, κάλλος ἐκφέρονσα παρενδοκimasθῆναι οὐ δυνάμενον. ὅλη γὰρ ἐκινεῖτο ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ μειρακίῳ καὶ τῇ παρθένῳ, καὶ εὐδαιμόνιζον ἤδη τὸν γάμον. Cod. μὴ δυνάμενον et pro ἐκινεῖτο habet ἐκίττα.

Ib. c. xxxvi. Ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Διονυσοφάνης μείζον τοῦ Μεγακλέους καὶ—εἰσάγει Χλόην καὶ λέγει. “Τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον ἐξέθηκας: ταύτην σοὶ τὴν παρθένον οἷς προνοία θεῶν ἐξέθρεψεν, ὥς αἰξ Δάφνιν ἐμοὶ κ.τ.έ. Cod. προνοία νυμφῶν.

R. B. HIRSCHIG.

(To be continued.)

*Anecdota.*I. *The Commencement of Cicero's Treatise DE FATO, as contained in a Cambridge MS. of the XVth. century.*

THE pleasantries of Mr Ferrucci, who pretended to have discovered the commencement and other fragments of Cicero's work *De Fato*, in a palimpsest, and who thereby entrapped several scholars at home and abroad, and alas! the present Journal also (see Vol. I. pp. 103, 292), will, perhaps, almost discredit any announcement that the commencement of the said treatise is really contained in MS. What professes at any rate to be the opening sentence is extant in a MS. of the fifteenth century on vellum (bearing date 1444), preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge (Dd. 13. 2). It comprises many of Cicero's writings, and this among the rest. The illuminated initial letter has been cut out, like most of the other illuminations in the volume, and certain other letters contiguous to it have been at the same time removed. It will be seen from the typographical arrangement what has been lost, and how I propose to restore the missing letters. At fol. 81 verso, we have

INCIPIT EJUSDEM LIBER DE FATO.

[uo]d à Grecis lo-

[gos], à nobis ratio

[Q]

[no]minatur; logi-

[ce v]ero, ratio disse-

[rend]i. Quia vero

[pertin]et ad mores,

[quod et]hos illi vocant, &c. (as in Orelli's

edition.)

Orelli does not notice that any MS. contains these words: whether however the scribe has only conjecturally supplied them, I do not pretend to determine; they seem somewhat abrupt for an opening sentence. The MS. is not available for supplying the other deficiencies of the same book: it ends with the word *naturaliter* as in Orelli's edition, and it is noted in the margin *Deest usque ad finem libri.*

The same MS. contains observations on Cicero made by William of Malmesbury, principally out of Augustine. I hardly know whether his Ciceronian labours are anywhere mentioned; Cave at any rate takes no notice of them. It may perhaps be interesting to state, that he believed the treatise *De Republica* not to exist in England in his own time, and endeavoured to supply the loss by collecting the fragments preserved by St Augustine. (*Qui libri quia in Anglia non reperiuntur, ego Will. Malmesburiensis, &c.*)

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

## II. *Inscriptiones Sprattianæ.*

The six following inscriptions found by Commander T. A. B. Spratt, R. N. were presented by him, together with a fine sarcophagus, to the University of Cambridge in 1854, and are now deposited in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Mr Birch, Assistant Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum, had forwarded to Professor Gerhard and Professor Curtius a copy of the very interesting inscription from the Troad, (No. I.) but as the learned Professors of Berlin desired a rubbing of the inscription also in order to improve their memoir of it, at Mr Birch's request I took several impressions for their use. The account by Professor Curtius in the *Memoirs of the Berlin Academy* will probably appear almost simultaneously with my own.

No. III. was found, as Colonel Leake observes in a letter, 'on the Southern coast of Crete at Leben, which is described by Strabo as the ἐμπόριον of Gortys.' It is evident that it must have been a votive offering placed in the temple of some deity, probably (as Colonel Leake suggests) of Asclepius. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that Pausanias (Lib. II. c. 10) saw an ἄγαλμα Ὀυείρου in a temple of Asclepius at Sicyon; in allusion doubtless to the communications which this god among others made to his votaries by dreams.

Nos. IV. V. and VI. are all from a necropolis at the east end of Crete: its modern name is Eremopolis. Captain Spratt inclines to consider that the necropolis is on the site of the ancient Samonium, herein following the opinion of Colonel Leake, who further observes that it 'was afterwards called Arsinoë, having been repaired or renewed by Ptolemy Philadelphus.'

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.



## No. I.

*A white marble tablet found near the ruins of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus in the Troad.* Height 4 feet, breadth 2 feet. Ornamented at the top with a line of ovals included in oval curves, and separated from each other by straight lines (the egg and tongue ornament): the whole surmounted by an inversely castellated margin: at the base the slab is slightly imperfect. The center of the inscription contains a parallelogram, elevated about a quarter of an inch from the surrounding surface: the writing on it proceeds continuously on the stone below. The laurel crowns represented on the marble are very gracefully executed: the lowest row is slightly mutilated. The letters, none of which are deeply cut, greatly resemble those now in ordinary use, the A however has the cross line bent downward like the Roman V: there is but little space between the words. The letters are in general somewhat less than half-an-inch in length. The positions of the crowns, &c. are tolerably well indicated in the copy here printed in the Sarcophagus type.

With regard to the readings only two names of places are in any degree doubtful, viz. Phialia, (also written Phigalia), and Coronea in Bœotia. The stone clearly has ΙΑΛΕΩΝ, and it is difficult to see what other word can be properly substituted for Phigalia or Phialia, which is geographically connected with the other places mentioned near it on the slab, and is also noted for its worship of Apollo. (Paus. Lib. VIII. c. 41.) There is however a Pialia in Thessaly. The part of the inscription containing what I conceive to be the adjective derived from Coronea is abruptly broken off, so that no future examination can be of much avail for discovering the reading.

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΩΣ ΕΤΙΜΗΣΕΝ  
ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ ΔΩΡΙΕΩΝ ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΩΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ ΧΡΥΣΩΙ ΧΡΥΣΩΙ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΟΙΤΑΙΕΩΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ

ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΘΑΜΑΝΩΝ  
ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΧΑΛΚΗ

ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΛΟΚΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΗΟΙΩΝ ΧΡΥ[ΣΩΙ]

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΡΗΤΑΙΩΝ  
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΙ

Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΧΑΛΚΗ  
ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΧΑΙΩΝ  
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΙ

ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΝΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΙΚΟΝΙ ΧΑΛΚΗ  
Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ

[Η] ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΔΕΛΦΩΝ

ΧΡΥΣΩΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΜΕΣ

ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



Η ΠΟΛΙ[Σ]

Η ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΔΑΦΝΗΣ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



[Η] ΠΟΛΙΣ Η  
[Τ]ΕΓΕΑΤΩΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η  
[Φ]ΙΛΑΛΕΩΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



ΚΑΙ ΘΕΩΡΟΚΙΑΙ ΤΟΥ  
ΔΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΜΕΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ  
ΤΗΣ ΗΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΑΣ



Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η  
ΚΟΡΩΝΑΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΕΝ ΑΧΑΪΙΑΙ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ  
ΔΑΦΝΗΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ  
ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΟΥ



ΣΗΝΙΩΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η  
ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ



Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΚΟ]  
ΡΩΝΕ[ΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ]  
ΒΟΙ[ΩΤΙΑΙ ΧΡΥ]  
ΣΩΙ [ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ]

ΜΕΓΑΛΟ  
ΧΡΥΣΩΙ  
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙ








Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η]  
ΚΛΕΩΝ[ΑΙΩΝ]  
ΧΡΥΣ[ΩΙ]  
ΣΤΕΦΑ[ΝΩΙ]





## ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Κάσσανδρον Μενεσθέως ἐτίμησεν

τὸ κοινὸν τῶν	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν
Αἰτωλῶν	Δωριέων	Αἰνιάνων
Χρυσῶ	Χρυσῶ	Χρυσῶ
στεφάνῳ·	στεφάνῳ·	στεφάνῳ·
		
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀθαμάνων	τὸ κοινὸν
Οἰταίων	εἰκόνι χαλκῇ·	Δοκρῶν τῶ[ν]
Χρυσῶ		Ἡοίων χρυ[σῶ]
στεφάνῳ·		στεφάνῳ·
		
	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Κρηταίων	
	προξενία·	
	ἡ πόλις ἢ Δελφῶν εἰκόνι χαλκῇ·	
	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν	
	προξενία καὶ πολιτεία·	
	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων εἰκόνι χαλκῇ·	
	ἡ πόλις ἢ Ἀργείων	

ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ	καὶ θεωροδκία τοῦ	σηρίων	Μεγαλό-
δάφνης	Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου καὶ	χρυσῷ	χρυσῷ
στεφάνῳ·	τῆς Ἑρας τῆς Ἀργείας·	στεφάνῳ·	στεφάνῳ·
[ἡ] πόλις ἡ	ἡ πόλις ἡ	ἡ πόλις ἡ	ἡ πόλις ἡ
[Τ]εγεατῶν	Κορωναιέων τῶν	Φλειασιῶν	Κλεων[αίων]
χρυσῷ	ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ	χρυσῷ	χρυσῷ
στεφάνῳ·	χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ·	στεφάνῳ·	στεφάνῳ·
ἡ πόλις ἡ	ἡ πόλις ἡ	ἡ πόλις ἡ	ἡ πόλις ἡ
[Φ]ιαλέων	Ἑραιέων	δάφνης στεφάνῳ	ρωνέ[ων τῶν ἐν]
χρυσῷ	χρυσῷ	παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος	Βοι[ωτία χρυ-]
στεφάνῳ·	στεφάνῳ·	τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγέτον·	σῶ [στεφάνῳ].

With regard to the date of the inscription it evidently lies between the foundation of Megalopolis, B. C. 371, and the time of Strabo, or rather 'the Roman times' when the Ænianians had ceased to exist<sup>1</sup>. The mention however of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν greatly reduces these limits, if, as I presume, the expression could only be used when the republican form of government prevailed, i. e. from B. C. 229, the approximate date of Ptolemy's death, till the conquest of Macedonia by Æmilius Paullus, B. C. 168, who in the year following levelled the cities of Epirus to the ground. We obtain the same inferior limit from the consideration that the Ætolian league was formally dissolved B. C. 167. Thus the date of the inscription is determined within 60 years. It would perhaps be hazardous to attempt to approximate much more closely: yet the mention of the Æthamanians, who did not figure conspicuously till the time of Amynder, would lead us to suspect that the marble may be assigned to B. C. 200, within a few years on one side or the other: and as the simultaneous action of so many Greek states, often opposed to one another, seems to indicate a time of peace, our thoughts are naturally directed towards the general peace concluded with the almost unanimous approbation of Greece, between Flamininus and Philip, B. C. 196.

The subject of the inscription next claims our attention. It is a significant fact that it was discovered near the temple of Apollo, and that several of the cities mentioned therein were famed for the worship of that deity. It is doubtless not without reason that the Megarians hint at the legend of Alcathous, and send a crown of laurel from Apollo; and that Delphi entitles itself the city of the God. It appears then tolerably clear that the theori of the different states and cities enumerated conferred the rewards mentioned on Cassander in consequence of some attentions which he shewed them as their θεωροδόκος. Inscriptions of a very similar kind are found elsewhere. Thus in a marble preserved in the British Museum (Böckh, n. 2329) the Tenians

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν δὲ τῷ Φωκικῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῇ Μακεδόνων ἐπικρατείᾳ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀθαμάνων θαυμαστὸν, εἰ καὶ ἶχνος αὐτῶν (the Dorians) εἰς Ῥωμαιοὺς ἦλθε· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πεπὼνθασιν καὶ Αἰνιάνες· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐξέφθειραν Αἰτωλοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθαμανες, Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν μετὰ Ἀκαρνάνων

πολεμοῦντες καὶ μέγα δυνάμενοι, Ἀθαμᾶνες δ' ὕστατοι τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν εἰς ἀξίωμα προαχθέντες ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων ἀπειρηκότων καὶ μετ' Ἀμυνάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως δύναντο κατασκευασάμενοι· οὗτοι δὲ τὴν Οἶτην διακατεῖχον.—Strabo, Lib. IX. c. 4. § 11.



give a crown of olive and the proxeny to Ammonius (after Olymp. 153), an Athenian of Delos, ἐπειδὴ . . . . ἀναδέδεται τὴν θεωροδοκίαν τῶν Δηλίων. In a like spirit the Delphians decree honours (proxeny, &c.) on Dicæarchus of Laodicea, ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ἣν εἶχε κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰν θεωροδοκίαν τῶν τε Πυθίων καὶ τῶν Σωτηρίων in the time of Antiochus Soter (B. C. 280—261) by whom he was appointed θεωροδόκος. (See Böckh, n. 1693.) The Cassander named in the inscription seems not to be otherwise known; unless indeed he be the same as the Æginetan mentioned by Polybius (Lib. XXXIII. c. 8), who took a leading part relative to Eumenes king of Pergamus in the Achæan congress held at Megalopolis, B. C. 186. The historian however does not mention the name of his father. The remarkable feature about our slab consists in the number and extent of the states which honored Cassander, thus shewing the magnificent scale on which his hospitalities must have been conducted.

We are struck with the designation of Coronea in *Achaia*, seeing that it is situated in Messenia: Pausanias himself was unable to account for it<sup>1</sup>. It is probable however that some signal activity in behalf of the League may have given it the title. (See Smith's *Dict. Geogr. s. v.*)

There is nothing to observe of the language of the tablet, except that it contains the very rare word θεωροδοκία, which perhaps scarcely occurs elsewhere, except in the two other inscriptions above cited.

## II.

*From the same neighbourhood.* A rough stone fragment, perhaps a piece of a wall of a temple of Serapis. The inscription written on an oblong portion, (2 ft. by 1½) which has been in some degree smoothed, belongs to Roman times, as appears both by the name *Fulvia* which occurs in it, and by the comparatively modern character of the letters. The Σ is written c: the Ε is replaced by ε. The letters are engraved with a light and easy hand, and are an inch or more long.

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ' ὅτῳ δὲ τὸν [τῆς Κορώνης] λιμένα 'Αχαιῶν καλοῦσιν οὐκ οἶδα.—Pausan. Lib. IV. c. 34.

ΦΟΥΛΒΙΑ ΔΡΑ  
ΚΩΝΟΣ ΕΠΕ  
ΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ  
ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΚ  
ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ  
ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΟΣ

Φούλβια Δράκωνος ἐπεσκεύασεν τὸν ναὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
τοῦ κυρίου Σαράπιδος.

## III.

*Found at Leben in Crete.* A pedestal of massive marble about 4 feet by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , upon which images have been fixed, the holes for the soldering yet remaining. The letters of this inscription, deeply and distinctly graven, are of a very late date, probably of the Roman period, they are fully an inch long.

ΔΟΙΟΥΣ ΣΟΙ ΔΙΟΔΩ  
ΡΟΣ ΕΘΗΚΑΤΟ ΣΩΤΕΡ  
ΟΝΕΙΡΟΥΣ  
ΑΝΤΙ ΔΙΠΛΩΝ ΟΥΣΩΝ  
ΦΩΤΟΣ ΕΠΑΥΓΡΑΜΕΝΟΣ

Δοιούς σοι Διόδωρος ἐθήκατο, Σῶτερ, ὀνείρους  
ἀντὶ διπλῶν ὄσων φωτὸς ἐπαυράμενος.

Müller (*Ancient Art and its Remains*, p. 526, Leitch's Transl. 2nd edit.) mentions a winged figure of an "Ονειρος on a vase. Cf. Eurip. *Hecub.* v. 71.

## IV.

*From Eremopolis in Crete.* Apparently a sepulchral slab, surmounted by a frontispiece (*fastigium*) ornamented at its angular points, greatly resembling the column figured on the

right hand side in Smith's *Diet. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* p. 437 b, s. v. *Funus*, (first edit.) The slab is broken off abruptly, but in such a manner as to shew that it probably contained only two lines in its upper part: breadth about 15 inches. The letters are narrow,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch long, deeply cut, rudely formed, and colored with vermilion. The forms of the Α and Σ resemble those of the capitals now in use.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ . . . . Υ  
ΚΑΣΣΑΝ[ΔΡ] . . . .

Ἡράκλειτος Μεν . . . . . υ Κασσαν[δρ] . . . . .

The graver has written ΗΡΑΚΛΕΤΟΣ instead of ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ. In the first line we have perhaps the fragments of ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ; but only the two first letters are certain.

# V.

*From the same neighbourhood.* An epitaph on Demaratus son of Ammonius, a famed hunter. The inscription is mutilated, being now about 17 inches broad, and 9 high. The letters are broad and neatly formed, less than an inch long: the cross stroke of the Α is bent downwards, in other respects the letters resemble the modern character. This inscription, which seems to be tolerably ancient, cannot now be read without the greatest difficulty, as most of the letters are very shallow and considerably defaced.

Ν ΘΡ]ΑΣΥΝ ΕΝ ΘΗΚΑΙΣ ΔΑΜΑΡΑΤΟΝ [ΞΕΝΕ ΛΕΥΣΣΕΙΣ]  
ΛΑΜΠΡΑ ΚΥΝΑΓΕΣΙΑΣ ΕΡΓΑ ΠΟΝΗ[ΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ]  
ΓΕΝΕΤΑΣ ΕΣΠΕΙΡΕ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΣ[ΘΛΟΝ ΕΝ ΟΠΛΟΙΣ]  
Κ]ΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΑ ΠΙΣΤΙ Δ ΕΞΟΧΟΝ ΑΜΕΡ[ΙΩΝ]  
ΟΣ]ΕΤΗ Δ ΕΚΛΑΥΣΑΝ ΟΜΗΛΙΚΕΣ ΟΝ[ΤΑ] . . . .  
. . . . ΕΥΣΕΒΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ . . . . .

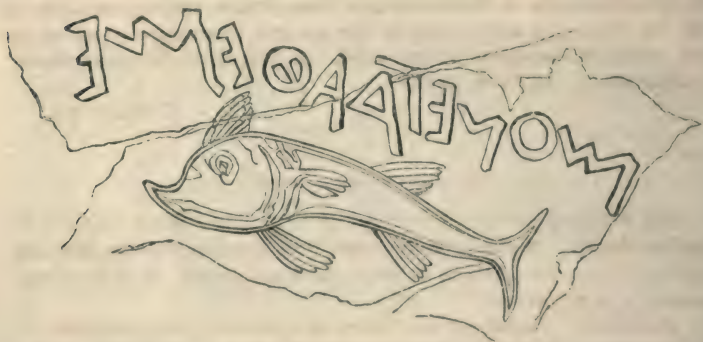
τὸ[ν θρ]ασὺν ἐν θήκαις Δαμάρατον, [ξένε, λεύσσεις,  
λαμπρὰ κυναγεσίας ἔργα πονη[σάμενον],  
ὃν γενέτας ἔσπειρ' Ἀμμώνιος ἐσ[θλὸν ἐν ὀπλοῖς]  
[κ]αὶ βουλᾷ, πίστει δ' ἔζοχον ἀμερ[ίῳν],  
[εἰκος]έτη δ' ἐκλαυσαν ὁμήλικες ὄν[τα] . . . . .  
. . . . . εὐσεβέων πατρὶς . . . . .



We have to remark ΠΙΣΤΙ written for ΠΙΣΤΕΙ: and as it seems ΒΟΥΑΑ for ΒΟΥΑΑΙ, but the stone is so defaced that the reading of the last word is a little uncertain. The second Ε of εικοσέτη is likewise so injured that the reading is extremely doubtful.

## VI.

*From the same neighbourhood.* A broken piece of stone of considerable size, but mutilated, smooth and convex above, formed below like the keel of a ship, of one extremity of which it seems to be a representation: the inscription, written from right to left, runs over one side. The figure is one-third of the size of the original. About three letters seem to be missing at the commencement: the inscription is certainly entire at the other end.



The letters appear to be ,

ΜΟΣΕΙΡΑΦΕΜΕ.

The only letter indeed the reading of which can reasonably be doubted of is the Ι, which is formed more like a capital Γ. The characters of this inscription shew that it belongs to the very earliest period of Greek Palæography. See Rose's *Greek Inscriptions, Proleg.* p. xv. sqq., and the plates. I conjecture that we should read [ἄνε]μος ἢ ἰπὰ φήμη, or rather ἰπά, for the aspirate could hardly have been left unexpressed in so ancient an inscription. If this reading be admitted, it will be the epigraph for the dolphin, which is the *insigne* of the ship, indicating that its appearance betokens a gale or signifies a divine warning.

See Opp. *Hal.* i. 648.

δελφίνων δ' οὐπω τι θεώτερον ἄλλο τέτυκται,  
ὥς ἐτεὸν καὶ φῶτες ἔσαν πάρος κ. τ. λ.

ind v. 416.

δελφίνων δ' ἄγρη μὲν ἀπότροπος, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι  
κείνος ἔτ' ἐμπελάσειε θυτὴρ φίλος . . .  
ὅς κεν ἐκὼν δελφίσιν ἐπιφράσσηται ὄλεθρον.

See also Athen. Lib. vii. c. 18. where he calls the dolphin  
εὐρύς ἰχθύς: and compare the myth of Arion.

### Correspondence.

*Paul Bornemiza.*

PAUL Bornemiza, Bornemissa or Bornemisze, respecting whom Mr Churchill Babington makes inquiry in the last number of the *Journal* (p. 408), was bishop of Weissenburg in Transylvania, and appears to have left his diocese in 1556, owing to the general ascendancy obtained in that district by Reforming propagandists (see *Hist. of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, p. 69, Lond. 1854).

C. HARDWICK.

### Quotations in Donne.

THE following passages are quoted by Dr Donne without reference to book or chapter. Some of them occur very frequently throughout his works. I have been unable to trace them and should be glad of any assistance or suggestion.

- Damascene.* Parva non sunt parva ex quibus magna proveniunt.  
*Augustine.* In talibus rebus tota ratio facti est in potentia facientis.  
 — Aliud est hic esse, aliud est tibi esse.  
 — Perdidimus possibilitatem boni.  
 — Nemo flectitur qui moleste audit.  
 — "How loth we find the blessed fathers of the Primitive Church to lack company at their sermons".....And so St Augustine, "In hoc vobis servimus."  
 — Basis Verbi est timor sanctus.  
 — Societas patris et filii est Spiritus Sanctus.

*Cyril Alexandrinus* says, "none of the saints of God nor such as were noted to be exemplarily religious and sanctified men did ever celebrate with any festival solemnity their own birth-day."

*Erasmus.* Sacerdotem nemo agit qui libenter aliud est quam sacerdos.

*Anonymous.* "...We may find in some respects a better model of a prayer in heathen and unchristian Rome than in superstitious Rome. There we find their prayer to have been, 'Aut innocentiam des nobis, aut maturam poenitentiam....' And as we find there was in that state a public officer *Conditor precum*, that made their collects and prayers for public use, so we find in their prayers, that which may make us ashamed. At first for many years their prayer was, 'Ut res populi Romani ampliores facerent....' And after, 'Vota nuncupata, si res eo stetissent statu....' So far therefore they may be an example," &c. &c.

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... "the womb and the grave are but one point...there is but a step from that to this. This brought in that custom amongst the Greek emperors, that ever at the day of their coronation, they were presented with several sorts of marble, that they might then bespeak their tomb."

*Tertullian.* ...I must say as Tertullian said, "They have put God and that man into the balance and weighed them together, and found God too light."

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Maledicere non norat quia nec malefacere.

A. J.

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### Notices of New Books.

*An Account of the printed text of the New Testament, with remarks on its revision upon critical principles, together with a collation of the critical texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, with that in common use.* By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London, Bagster, 1854. 8vo. pp. xvi, 274, iv, and 94.

[Dr TREGELLES has done good service by the publication of this useful volume. It is probably intended in some measure to clear the way for his long-expected edition of the New Testament: but moreover it stops up a gap in English theological literature, which has been very imperfectly covered by books of wider range.

The historical part of the work, contained in §§ 1—12, is very careful and accurate; though in some cases the details are hardly given with sufficient fulness. It is written in a generous and kindly spirit, with much anxiety to give every one his due: Bentley in particular is warmly appreciated. Griesbach's text is of course decidedly condemned; but his great merit is well pointed out, as the breaker of the deadly spell which Wetstein had cast over textual criticism. It is strange however



that Dr T. does not see that Griesbach's distinction of the Western and Alexandrine texts, even supposing it could not be carried out into perfect detail (of which we are by no means sure), was absolutely needed to cut the ground from under the Latinization theory. Scholz does not get much praise; but for all that he has been mercifully treated. Some twenty pages are devoted to a very noble and excellent vindication of Lachmann. His name so often comes before us elsewhere with a flourish of Prussian trumpets, and his own Latin prefaces are so oracular and abusive, that it is rather hard for Englishmen to do him justice; especially as his friends misrepresent him almost as much as his enemies. His text is constantly quoted as if it expressed, in his opinion, the true renderings of the N. T.: whereas he distinctly states the contrary (*Studien u. Kritiken* for 1830, p. 842; Preface to Vol. I. of larger edition, pp. xxxii, xxxiii.) He complained (*Studien u. Kritiken* l. c. p. 818) that Griesbach's very merits had led him astray by reason of his laying a false foundation for his text in the *lectio recepta*; and his own object was to substitute as a foundation an approximation to the text of the 4th century, that period being fixed upon, according to his idolized master Bentley's plan, as affording means of comparison with the results of St Jerome's critical labours. But he earnestly desired that others, following his method, might complete the work which he had only begun. These and other facts are expounded more or less clearly by Dr Tregelles, and he deserves great credit for strenuously putting before English readers the true state of the case, not disguising the great blemishes which detract considerably from the positive value of the edition. We only wish that he had found room for a translation of Lachmann's German essay cited above, which is as remarkable for its quiet and modest tone as for its great critical value. In reading of the factious and stupid resistance which his first edition experienced in Germany, and considering how his consequent disappointment and vexation occasioned and almost (as Dr T. thinks) justified the contemptuous bitterness of his Latin prefaces, we cannot but think of the shyness with which he came forward (l. c. p. 817) a philologer among theologians, and contrast the mischievous division of labour implied in such a state of things with the name and objects of this Journal. Of Tischendorf's meritorious labours Dr T. speaks fairly and well: neither his praise nor his blame are those of a partizan. Lastly, after a valuable chapter on "Comparative Criticism," i.e. the investigation of the character of MSS. by comparison with other documents, he describes in small type and an unassuming tone "the collations and critical studies of S. P. Tregelles." These we have not room to enumerate, but we must make a few remarks on the new or improved apparatus which will be used in his edition. He has restored much of the faded part of Z and thoroughly collated H of the Gospels and three important cursive MSS. (1 Evv., 33 Evv., and 69 Evv.) of all or nearly all the N. T., not to speak of those which are already represented with tolerable accuracy: to these must be added the four uncial MSS. lately recovered by Tischendorf, two of them containing a large part, the third

twenty-eight leaves, of the Gospels, and the fourth nearly the whole of the Acts. More important than all is the new "Curetonian" Syriac version from the British Museum. The same collection has supplied Dr Tregelles with, apparently, a purer form of what passes as the Peshito text: we wish he had stated more fully his views of this unhappy version: when will some classical scholar respond to Lachmann's suggestion (*N. T. ed. maj.* p. xxiv), and give us a really critical edition? We take this opportunity of pointing out that Schwartz's critical edition of the Memphitic (Coptic) Gospels (which is of course used by Dr T.) cannot be regarded, valuable as it is, as a final or adequate one. It is avowedly based on Berlin MSS. alone, the reading of Wilkins being the sole representative of the Oxford, Paris, and Roman MSS., itself, on Schwartz's own shewing (*Vol. I. p. vi.*), an awkward jumble of at least two different families of text: only when the Gospels were already printed (see *Vol. II. p. viii.*) did Schwartz obtain from the king of Prussia's liberality the means of travelling to England and France, and then his untimely death brought his labours to an end. Surely here also there is a hint to Oxford Orientalists. The Æthiopic text is in a still worse condition: Mr Platt's edition, which Dr Tregelles (with Mr Prevost's help) will be the first to use, is probably much better than that in Walton: but in his Catalogue of MSS. (pp. 12, 13) he expressly disclaims for it a critical character: he obviously examined the Paris MSS. with the eye of a scholar, but he seems to have scarcely used them in his text, except where the Bible Society's MSS. were deficient: moreover his account (pp. 11, 12) shews that they differ considerably from each other (not however as belonging to two versions), and one has a partly double text, like that of the Latin G of the Pauline Epistles. We rejoice to see that Mr Rieu's kindness has enabled Dr Tregelles to use Zohrab's Armenian edition, with its various readings: we strongly suspect that this version has been too sweepingly condemned. "The more important citations of the earlier writers (to Eusebius inclusive)" form the 3rd part of the apparatus: but here we must reserve our judgment, as everything depends on the discrimination with which the citations are used.

There is not space to discuss at any length Dr Tregelles's subsequent exposition of critical principles and examination of particular passages. The theoretical principles are in themselves sound, but so much depends on the manner in which they are applied that it is necessary to wait for the edition itself. In most of the instances given, we should agree with the author, but not in all: in general, perhaps he is more happy in discriminating authorities than in striking out new suggestions: thus his punctuation of 1 Cor. xv. 29 (*ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι; ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται· τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν;*) would require, we think, *νεκρῶν* for *τῶν νεκρῶν*, according to his explanation, which is in itself unnatural. In conclusion, we can only add that it is impossible to give an adequate account of the book by description: we hope it will find many readers.]

F. J. A. H.

*Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte* von JOH. HEINR. KURTZ, Doctor der Theologie. Dritte, neu ausgearbeitete Auflage. Vol. i. in three parts. Mitau, Neumann.

[THAT this history has in a great measure supplied the want which called it forth, is evident from the rapid sale of the previous editions (the first appeared in 1849), and from the fact that it is now the favourite manual among the theological students in the German universities. The merits which have secured it this preference are, *first*, a more complete apparatus of literary notices and fuller citations than are to be found in any other manuals except those of Danz and Gieseler, both of which it greatly excels in another respect; they may be consulted, but cannot be read continuously except by more patient readers than are often found, in England at least; whereas Kurtz, by adopting a different arrangement of text and notes, makes it easy to follow his narrative uninterruptedly to the end, after which the quotations may be separately studied: *second*, the attention which is paid to certain branches of the subject, (e. g. the history of worship, and the explanation of technical terms), which commonly receive but a very perfunctory treatment; *third*, the full account of the more recent controversies, which have often discovered solutions of difficulties which perplexed earlier writers. These merits are, however, counterbalanced by some defects. In his own country Kurtz has a bad name as a plagiarist: on so vast a subject, it is true, any writer who should scorn the aid of the numberless monographs, histories of doctrine, &c., must necessarily produce a work behind the scholarship of his time; but our author (to judge from the frequent inaccuracies which we meet with in the titles of books, in dates, and the like details), appears not always to have taken the pains to examine the statements and citations which he appropriates. It may seem presumptuous for foreigners to offer an opinion upon a question of style, but we cannot help thinking that M. Kurtz's pages would gain by the pruning away of such words as *Periodeuten*. Still, with all these drawbacks, his work is perhaps, among those of its class, second in interest only to Hase's picturesque and lively sketch.]

J. E. B. M.

*The Acts of the Apostles*, by M. BAUMGARTEN, Dr of Philos. and Theol., and Prof. in the Univ. of Rostock. Translated from the German by the Rev. A. J. W. MORRISON [Vol. III. by the Rev. THEOD. MEYER]. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1854. 8vo. 3 Vols. pp. 457, 459, and 383.

[Dr BAUMGARTEN thinks that critics have hitherto been obliged to confess their inability to point out the plan and object of the Acts; excepting Baur and Zeller, who suppose a distinct purpose of reconciling the Pauline and Petrine factions in the 2nd cent., and so rob the book of all direct historical value. To trace throughout a no less coherent purpose, and yet establish all the more firmly the truth of the narrative, is the object of this elaborate commentary. Zeller is naturally the



chief antagonist assailed, but his criticisms on particular points are often quoted with frank approbation. Baumgarten (following Olshausen and Schneckenburger) interprets the opening of the Acts by the emphatic words *ὁν ἤρξατο ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν*; so that the same Agent and Teacher who appears in the Gospel would appear also here, as the subject of the record. The excellencies of the commentary may be tolerably understood from this example. Though not often strictly philological, it lays much stress on particular words, and it frequently points out lurking analogies with and allusions to other words or events of the Bible. Indeed both the author's strength and his weakness lie in what might be called the mystical exposition of an incident; in dealing rather with its inward and necessary relations to the entire dispensation of times than with its immediate and, as it were, accidental conditions. This method, in the hands of a man so thoughtful and learned as Baumgarten, is invaluable to those who occupy the same point of view; but there is much danger of its seeming to others to wrap the lively story, whether true or garbled, of the Apostles and their work in a dreamy haze. The value of the book for English readers is moreover lessened by the painfully level and prolix style. In spite of every drawback, however, it is a truly great and enduring piece of criticism.

The translation is substantially good, though rather clumsy and not quite free from mistakes. It is really time however for Messrs. Clark to mend the disgraceful carelessness of their press, which has now become a byword. Not to speak of innumerable common misprints, literally above half of the many references, that we have verified at random in the first 60 or 70 pages, are wrongly given.]

F. J. A. H.

GLOSSARIUM LATINUM BIBLIOTHECÆ PARISIÆ ANTIQUISSIMUM SÆC. IX.

*Descripsit, primum edidit, adnotationibus illustravit* Prof. Dr. G. F.

HILDEBRAND 8vo, pp. x. and 329. Goettingæ, Dieterich.

[THAT among the helps to our study of the European languages mediæval glossaries are not the least useful, has long been well known to philological students. Words employed by Plautus or Varro, and afterwards by later writers, such as Apuleius, who affected obsolete language, are there interpreted, and, if *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, rescued from suspicion; there too (what is perhaps of yet greater interest) words familiar in the mouths of Cicero's contemporaries, but grown out of use in the glossator's time, are explained by others, barbarous if tried by Cicero's standard, but most valuable to us, as enabling us to trace the otherwise obscure derivation of many modern expressions. The case is the same as with our old Latin-English dictionaries: originally compiled to teach schoolboys Latin, they are now among the most necessary appliances for the reader of early English, as may be seen in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, and still more in Mr Way's elaborate notes. We therefore give a hearty welcome to Dr Hildebrand's publication, and hope that nothing may prevent him from editing in the same manner the other glossaries which he describes in his preface. Dr Hildebrand is qualified

for this task beyond most scholars by the extensive acquaintance with patristic latinity, which he displayed in his editions of Apuleius and Arnobius. His copious notes to these authors, though overburdened with extracts from *Grævii Thesaurus*, and the like collections, yet contain many necessary illustrations, especially from the work of Placidus, first made known by Mai. While collating MSS. of Latin fathers, he met with and transcribed several glossaries in Paris and at Leyden; these transcripts he has printed as notes to the vocabulary which serves as text, justly considering that when thus harmonised, the glossaries are of far greater utility than when printed in succession. A specimen, taken almost at random, may interest the reader. *Baucalem, gallonem*. Here we have the origin of the Fr. *bocal*, and of our *gallon*.]

J. E. B. M.

A HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, WITH A RATIONALE OF ITS OFFICES. By the Rev. FRANCIS PROCTER, M.A. 8vo. Cambridge, Macmillan.

[THE publications of Messrs. Maskell, Clay, Peter Hall and others have made the defects of Wheatly's tedious and inaccurate compilation more glaringly apparent even to the most casual reader; it only remained to supersede it entirely by a revised edition, which should quietly expose the author's utter carelessness; and by an independent work, based upon original study of the sources, so many of which have but lately become generally accessible. For the first of these desiderata we must still look to the Pitt Press; the second has been supplied in the volume before us.

Mr Procter's work is divided into two parts; the first, beginning with an account of the earliest service-books, traces the history of the reformed Prayer-book to the final revision in 1661; various modifications of the book, adapted to the use of the Nonjurors, Scotch Episcopalians, American Church, &c., are described in Appendixes. The second part contains "the Sources and Rationale of the Offices;" the original Latin of the collects, &c. is given at length, and the suitability of the proper lessons, psalms, &c. to the occasions for which they are appointed, is shewn; or perhaps in some instances the connexion is discovered in particulars, to which it does not really extend. Believing, as we do, that Mr Procter's will long be the standard manual on its subject, we venture to suggest that the Eastern Liturgies (not only such of them as are in Bunsen's Hippolytus), the recent histories of doctrine and of the Reformation, together with various papers printed in the *British Magazine*, *Anglo-Catholic Library* (e. g. the Scotch canons, which form an appendix to a volume of Laud), and similar collections, may furnish materials for the improvement of the next edition. There seems to be an oversight in p. 197, where the Old Testament is said to be read *in order* for First Lessons, with the exception of "many chapters of Ezekiel, the books of Chronicles and the Song of Solomon." Leviticus should have been mentioned here, of which fewer chapters are read than of Ezekiel. It might have been well to notice all the omissions, and the reasons for each.]

J. E. B. M.

MONUMENTA SACRA INEDITA. NOVA COLLECTIO. VOLUMEN PRIMUM.  
 FRAGMENTA SACRA PALIMPSESTA. *Nunc primum eruit atque edidit*  
 Æ. F. C. TISCHENDORF. *Lipsiæ, Hinrichs.* 1855. 4to. with 3 plates.  
 pp. xlviii. and 278.

[In the year 1844 Dr Tischendorf visited the East for the express purpose of searching for early MSS. of the Old and New Testaments; and again in 1853 with the same object. The most remarkable discovery made during these journeys was a very early Greek Codex (the "Codex Friderico-Augustanus"), containing Esther and Nehemiah, and fragments of several other books: it seems to have been written in Lower Egypt, and is probably of the fourth century, and (if so) the earliest extant Greek MS. written *on skins*. Tischendorf could only however obtain a portion of the MS. (which he edited in 1846), and therefore transcribed a small part (fragments of Isaiah and Jeremiah) of that which he was unable to procure, being compelled to leave the remains of Tobit, Judith, and the four books of Maccabees behind him. The transcript is given in the present volume, that no crumb may be lost: for Dr Tischendorf's second journey has failed to recover the original: he suspects that it has since been brought into Europe.

A brief account of each of the other MSS. edited for the first time in the work before us may not be unacceptable. The Greek fragments of various parts of the New Testament which underlie an Armenian MS. are probably of the fifth century, and were in Tischendorf's opinion written in Egypt, where they were discovered. The text belongs to the Alexandrian family, and agrees especially with the MSS. A, B, C, D. In John xx. 25, for *εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν* this MS. agrees with A alone in reading *τόπον*, which Lachmann has actually edited. In Acts xxviii. 16 the MS. reads with A, B, and Lachmann's and Tischendorf's editions, *ὅτε δὲ εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐπέτραπε τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν, κ. τ. λ.* in place of the much larger reading of the common text. For other notable readings see Tischendorf's *Proleg.* p. xvi.

From the very ancient palimpsest Evangelisterium at Venice, Tischendorf was able to restore chemically parts of Matthew and John, agreeing mostly with the uncial MSS. of the second class." Through the shortness of the time allowed him, he was able to do little more than transcribe two leaves of St John from a palimpsest Evangelisterium in the Barberini palace at Rome, and to obtain a specimen of the writing. The text is peculiar, though often according with the earliest MSS. Future travellers must endeavour to catch the Prince in a better humour, or at any rate to carry away a few more leaves in a transcribed form. This and the foregoing MS. probably belong to the seventh century.

We have also a palimpsest of the greater part of Numbers, written in the fifth or sixth century, in a character much resembling that of A, with whose readings it frequently agrees against B, but often differs both from them and every other MS. The overlying writing is probably of the ninth century, an antiquity unexampled in Greek palimpsests. It contains an unedited *βίος καὶ πολιτεία Ξενοφῶντος*, and a very good text of



the homily of St John Damascene on the *Nativity of the Virgin*. Another palimpsest probably of the seventh century, containing portions of some of the early books of the Old Testament, has a text "admodum peculiaris et gravis," differing from both A and B. We have also three parchment leaves of a palimpsest of the Books of Kings, the principal interest of which consists in its half-Coptic characters: it is compared by the editor with the lately discovered papyrus MS. of Hyperides, and with a papyrus of Tours mentioned by Montfaucon. This style of writing, which must have prevailed in Egypt for seven or eight centuries at least, is distinguished for its roundness and semicursive appearance. The text is very ancient, differing from B, but agreeing remarkably with X. and XI. in Holmes. Another almost illegible palimpsest of the seventh century gives us parts of Isaiah: the text of which is termed by Tischendorf "apprime notabilis:" it appears however most frequently to agree with A.

Perhaps, however, the most curious thing in the volume, speaking palæographically, is the fragmentary Psalter on Egyptian papyrus, preserved in the British Museum. The character is the same as occurs in several other papyri, straggling and sloping, rather large, and "medium quiddam tenens inter unciale genus et minusculum." Our editor reserves the discussion of its peculiarities for a future occasion, when he shall have had time to examine others of the same kind. The accents and breathings proceed on some principle widely removed from the common one. We have a few similar but very minute morsels in our own possession, procured by our friend Mr Arden at Thebes. Tischendorf believes that the Psalter is more ancient than any MSS. on skins, i.e. prior to the fourth or fifth century, a date which seems to us probably too early\*. The text is the most curious of any. *Fit haud raro ut a cæteris omnibus solus discedat*. These departures, however, are frequently supported by the citations from the O. T. made by Clement, Origen, and other early Fathers. Sometimes it agrees with the Hebrew, when all the other MSS. (according to Tischendorf) have departed from it: as "in xi. 8. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα absque καί: xv. 5. σὺ δ' ἀποκαθιστῶν omisso εἰ: xvi. 5. κατήρτισα." It is to be hoped that the interesting MSS. here edited may be judiciously used in preparing such an edition of the Septuagint as may meet the requirements of Biblical and Semitic scholars: no labour would be more profitably spent than in reducing the rude and undigested mass of readings in Holmes' edition to something like order, and constructing a new text by their help and those of Tischendorf, with a constant reference to the Hebrew original. Such a work will surely not be delayed much longer.

We ought not to conclude this notice of the very valuable work of Tischendorf without expressing our admiration of the beautiful

\* A legal instrument belonging to the time of the Emperor Heraclius, dated A.D. 616 (figured by *Silv. et Champoll.* *Paleogr.* Univ. Tom. II. pl. 70),

bears a great resemblance to the Psalter in its characters. It seems therefore not unlikely that the Psalter may have been written about the same time.

lithographed plates at the end: we could only have wished that he had figured somewhat larger specimens. The MSS. are printed at length in one and the same uncial type, resembling the character of the Alexandrian and other early MSS.]

CH. B.

FRIDERICI CREUZERI *Opuscula Selecta*. Lipsiæ, 1854, pp. 242.\*

[THIS is a scanty selection from the fugitive Latin writings of above 50 years, with a few additional notes. Creuzer's name had certainly not led us to expect such meagre fare. The examination of some passages on Fate and Providence, and the notes to an oration on the literary greatness of Athens, are the most interesting contents.]

F. J. A. H.

*A Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises for translation*, by the Rev. P. H. MASON, M. A., and H. H. BERNARD, Hebrew Teacher to the University. Cambridge, Hall and Son. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1049.

[THIS work is described in the title-page as "an easy and practical" Grammar; and as such, it has undoubtedly considerable merits. The rules are set forth with great clearness, the changes of the vowels under various circumstances exhibited in detail, the exercises well chosen, the printing accurate, and on the whole the book is well adapted to enable ordinary students, without the assistance of a master, to translate and compose in the Hebrew language. In the second volume the chapter on accentuation is lucid and useful; as is also that on the structure of Hebrew poetry; and in this the translations of scriptural passages are entitled to notice as for the most part remarkably well executed. Here and there, we find difficult passages apparently successfully elucidated: e. g. Gen. iv. 23. in Vol. II. p. 199.

Having said thus much, we regret to be obliged to add, that these merits are counterbalanced by very serious defects. The work, although extended through 939 pages, (exclusive of the tables of contents and key to the Exercises &c.) is no more than elementary. It is cast into the ludicrous form of letters to a Duchess from her Teacher, and the compliments and apologies to her Grace waste no inconsiderable amount of space. It is wastefully printed, also: and in the verbs especially, there is a most unreasonable quantity of needless repetition: most of the inflections being printed three times over, twice with the separate translation of each in full, and once without it. And it is very costly.

This might however perhaps be thought in some sense appropriate in a *Hebrew Grammar*, were this all: but the real deficiencies lie deeper. The work is simply based on the dicta of Jewish grammarians, utterly ignoring (except occasionally for the purpose of denouncing it) all that has been done by Gesenius and others in the same field, and all the principles of grammar common to all languages. Of the results arrived at in this sphere, the writers seem entirely ignorant; so much so, that in order to shew triumphantly the absurdity of holding the prefixes in the

persons of the 'Future' tense to be fragments of the personal pronouns, they appeal to the Latin language, and ask (Vol. i. p. 222) whether 'if any one were to indulge in similar speculations' in this case, i. e. were to maintain the terminations of the persons of the present tense to be pronominal, he would not be 'set down as a trifler'! Syntax there is scarcely any: instances of ellipse and true constructions are jumbled together in complete confusion: and many pages are occupied by declamation against the late Prof. Lee's theories regarding the 'Vau converse,' and the 'Future' tense, which he called a 'Present'. In respect of the latter the critics have thus far the advantage over the Professor, that though they call the tense a Future, they are satisfied to give it other meanings and render it as the context requires, so as to avoid the absurdity of his translations. But they shew just as little sense as he did of the error committed in attempting to identify a tense of a language which had but two tenses to convey all the shades of meaning for which a modern language has a dozen tenses, with any particular one of the latter. And the result is, that a student who should study Hebrew with the help of this Grammar alone, might learn indeed many of the usages, but would be utterly ignorant of all the principles of the language, unless he were capable of discovering them for himself.]

C. B. S.

*History of the Apostolic Church, with a General Introduction to Church History*, by PHILIP SCHAFF, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark. 1854. 2 Vols. 8vo.

[THE writer of this work, which he intends as the first part of a general Church History, was a pupil of Neander, of whom he is a devoted but not indiscriminating admirer. He writes under a full conviction of the importance of co-operation between the practical sense of the English and the speculative tendencies of the German mind—a union, which he represents in some degree in his own person, Germany being the land of his birth, and America of his adoption, and one which he has realized with no inconsiderable success in the work under review.

We do not find that Prof. Schaff strikes out many new views. His excellence consists not so much in his originality, as in his power of combination, and systematic treatment. We regard his "General Introduction to Church History," as the most valuable portion of the work—that part especially in which he traces the growth of Church History, and reviews the works of his predecessors. In this he most clearly indicates his own standing point. Allowing fully the indisputable merits of Neander as a Church Historian, he is not blind to his faults. He complains that he is not churchly: that he is deficient in orthodoxy: that he disregards the objective in Christianity, in his desire to resolve everything into the ideal: that the constitution of the Church is treated by him in a very unsatisfactory manner: that he has no appreciation of the artistic. Prof. Schaff's watchword is the Historical Church: and he carefully guards against what he characterises as the error of those



Protestant writers, who can only discern the working of the Spirit at certain periods in the history of Christianity in detached and unimportant sects. It is impossible to do justice to a work of this character within such narrow limits. We would only say in conclusion, that we hail with satisfaction a work exhibiting so much learning and such sound judgment, and above all such a reverential spirit, and we regard it as no mean earnest of what may be expected from the co-operation of those two nations, which in so many respects may be regarded each as the complement of the other in the intellectual world.]

J. B. L.

*A Description of some Important Theatres and other remains in Crete, &c.*

By EDWARD FALKENER. London, Trübner and Co. 1854. pp. 32.

[THIS work, which is a supplement to an article in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, consists chiefly of extracts from the writings of Onofrio Belli, an Italian traveller in Crete at the close of the 16th century. It is accompanied by well-executed engravings of coins and of the ground-plans of buildings, and a good map of the island. Belli appears to have been well qualified for his work from his scientific acquirements, and his knowledge of architecture. His great work, the History of Crete, is now lost; and the present volume contains extracts from an abridgement of it, and from his letters preserved chiefly in manuscript. The most important remains, examined by Belli, are those of theatres, and the plans of six of these are given from his drawings. They are of Roman construction with some Greek characteristics. The most remarkable features in them, as noted by the Editor, are the grandeur of the attached porticoes, the position of the staircases, the depth of the chambers of the proscenium, and the appearance of the cells for the ῥαῖα or sounding vases described by Vitruvius.]

J. B. L.

*Enniance Poesis Reliquiae.* Recensuit JOANNES VAHLEN. Lipsiæ, sumptibus et formis B. G. Teubneri, 1854. pp. xciv and 238.

[WHETHER the complaints that are often heard of the state of Latin scholarship in England be well founded or not, it cannot be denied that since the time of Bentley very little has been published in this country which can be said to have promoted the knowledge or study of Latin literature. For many years past Greek has monopolised the labours of English scholars, and had we been left to ourselves we could hardly have hoped to be much in advance of the learned of a century ago in our knowledge of Latin. The great progress that has been made during this period is due to Germany alone; for Madvig though he has shewn but little gratitude to his *alma mater* must be reckoned among her literary sons, and the Dutch scholars though many of them write an admirable Latin style have like ourselves mostly deserted Rome for Greece. The Germans in their zealous and conscientious endeavour to conquer every

province of science and literature have not neglected the Roman writers, and owing perhaps to their habit of speaking and thinking in Latin the best of them have acquired a mastery over that idiom such as few of them shew in respect of Greek. Not to mention the great works of Madvig, Lachmann, Ritschl &c. a crowd of excellent and painstaking scholars have been gradually extending their labours to almost every part of Latin literature; and it is startling to find in one author after another how much previous editors had left both to be added and to be taken away.

The work we are now noticing is deserving of all praise both for the convenience of its arrangement and the completeness of its execution; and though it displays no great originality or critical acumen, it everywhere bears the stamp of good taste and unwearied diligence. Notwithstanding their important bearing on the history of the language little had been done for the fragments of Ennius since the end of the 16th century when Columna and Merula published editions very meritorious for that time, the former of the entire remains, the latter of the Annals only; for Hessel a century and a half ago improved but little on Columna, the Leipsic editor of 1825 nothing at all on Merula. The present edition would have been impossible even a very few years ago, the fragments being of course derived from a great variety of different sources many of which are extremely corrupt and have but recently undergone critical revision. The editor has not only taken advantage of everything in print that bore on his subject, but has had access to the unpublished collections of many eminent scholars among whom he particularly specifies his master Ritschl, L. Janus, L. Spengel, H. Keil, M. Hertz, C. Halm, A. Fleckeisen, Ilberg and L. Schopen. The work in its form and its whole arrangement is closely modelled on Otto Ribbeck's masterly edition of the fragments of the Latin tragedians; almost reprinting from it indeed the portions which it has in common. In the first part of the page is given Ennius' own text, and beneath this the names of the authors who have preserved the several fragments with as much of the context as is necessary to understand the drift of each passage, and at the bottom of the page a well-digested critical apparatus. At the end is appended a most complete index, and at the beginning are copious *Quæstiones Enniæ* in eight chapters; the first six of which are an attempt to reconstruct the story of the Annals so far as the meagre fragments afford any clue. This part is executed with great judgment and moderation, the editor wisely abstaining from the baseless conjectures in which Merula too often indulges. The last two chapters treat briefly of the numerous other works of Ennius, Ribbeck having already fully examined the tragedies and the editor reserving, as he says, for another opportunity those points in which he differs from him.

But so complete an edition of these fragments only renders more poignant our regret at their meagreness, probably not a fiftieth part of the Annals remaining. A few grand and massive fragments have been preserved to us by the poet's ardent admirer Cicero so susceptible to excellence of every kind, and one long and striking one by A. Gellius. With these exceptions we have little else than single verses and parts of

verses imbedded in the works of Macrobius, Servius and the herd of grammarians who selected their quotations not for their poetical merit but in order to illustrate grammatical peculiarities and archaisms. It is hard considering how much he was always read that no manuscript should have survived to our times. But perhaps we ought rather to feel thankful for what we have got than complain of what we have lost; for how many of the best of the extant Roman writers have sailed down the stream of time in one frail and shattered bark which a slight accident might have submerged for ever! Yet the loss of Ennius is one of the greatest that Latin literature has suffered: he was to his countrymen what Homer has been to the world: from his well of Latin undefiled the mouths of their best poets, Virgil, Lucretius, Ovid &c, were watered with Pierian streams. How gladly would we give in exchange for a single one of the eighteen books of his Annals all the bloodless palsy-stricken productions of Silius, Statius and Valerius Flaccus. In the few remaining fragments of any importance we feel in its full strength that peculiar spirit of Roman sentiment, nervous, grave and majestic, oratorical perhaps rather than poetical, which lends, where it appears, their greatest charm to the odes of Horace, to Virgil and to Lucan, and in the entire absence of which those tedious epics of later Latin poets present nothing but one unvarying quagmire of dreary dulness and hopeless imbecility.]

H. M.

### Contents of Foreign Journals.

Ewald's Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft. Göttingen. 1854. No. 6. On the biblical history of the origines of mankind. On the seeking and finding of so-called Macababical Psalms. On the origin and nature of the Gospels. (109 pages are devoted to reviews of books in biblical science for 1853—4).

Gött. Gel. Anz. 1854. Nos. 177, 178. On Koelle's *Grammars of the Vei and Bórnu languages*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 179, 180. On Diestel's *Der Segen Jakobs in Genes. xlix. historisch erläutert*, by Holzhausen.—No. 180. On Max Müller's *Suggestions for the assistance of officers in learning the languages of the seat of war in the East*, by Th. Benfey.—Nos. 181—184. On Reuss' *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au siècle apostolique*, by Ulhorn.—No. 184. On the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, by H. E[wald].—No. 185. On Müller's *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, by W. M[üller].—Nos. 187, 188. On Sarinhausen's *Allgem. deutsch-lutherische Kirchengesangbuch*, by Fr. Dusterdieck.—No. 188. On Hammer-Purgstall's *Arabische hohe Lied der Liebe*, by H. E[wald].—No. 200. In Dietrici's *Chrestomathie Ottomane*, by M. Uhlemann.—No. 203. On Noroff's *Die Atlantis nach griechischen und arabischen Quellen*, by Wappäus.—No. 208. On Höhne's *Kerulieder der evang. Kirche*, by Holzhausen.

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mihl. On Schmidt's Commentary on the *Phædrus*, by J. Deuschle. On Egger's *Apollonius Dyscole*, by H. Weil. On Overbeck's *Kunstarchäologische Vorlesungen*, by L. Urlichs. On Eyth's *Ueberblick der Weltgeschichte vom Christlichen Standpunkt*, by R. Dietsch.—Vol. 70. part 3. On Faesi's *Odyssey*, by K. Fr. Ameis. On Spengel's *Rhetores Græci*, and on Bernhardt's *Begriff und Grundform der Griechischen Periode*, by L. Kayser. On Hagen's *Catilina*, by G. W. Gossrau. On Spalding's *History of English Literature*, by C. Böttger. With shorter Notices.—Parts 4 and 5. On Hermann's *Æschylus*, by R. Enger. On Schubart's *Pausania descriptio Græciæ*, by L. Kayser. On Jacob's *Sallust*, by L. Mezger. On Weissenborn's *Livy*, by C. Wex. On Ballhorn-Rosen's *Vorgeschichte des römischen Rechts*, by R. Köhler. On Koch's *Deutsche Grammatik*, by O. Wilmar. On Schmidt's *Geschichte der deutschen National-literatur der 19ten Jahrhundert*, by F. P. Review of certain works on *Demosthenes*, by C. Rehdantz. With other short Notices.—Part 6. has not yet arrived. [Henceforward each Number of this periodical will consist of two divisions, the first of which will be confined to Classical Philology.]—Vol. 71. part 1. On certain works on *Mythology*, by L. Preller. On a certain artist Onetes in Erythræ of Ionia, by L. Rosz. On Prantl's *Uebersicht der griechischrömischen Philosophie*, by J. Deuschle. On several treatises illustrative of Cicero's writings, by K. Halm. On *Livy*, by Chr. Cron. *Græca quædam in versus Latinos translata*, by Th. Hansing.

Journal des Savants. Oct. 1854. On the Menandrian comedy, by M. Patin.—On Coussemaker's *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge*, art. 5th and last by M. Vitet.—Burnouf's translation from the Sanscrit, *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, art. 6th by M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire.—Nov. Inscriptions regni Neapolitani latinæ &c., art. 2nd by M. Hase.

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Mém. de Académie des Sciences de l'Institut de France. Tome xxiv. On some fixed dates which may be deduced from vague dates on Egyptian inscriptions, by M. Biot.—On an astronomical and astrological calendar found at Egyptian Thebes, by the same.

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Aristotle's Ethics. Edited by W. E. Jelf.



# THE JOURNAL

## OF

### CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

#### I.

#### *On the Sophistical Rhetoric.*

IN the following paper I propose to make some observations upon the study and practice of rhetoric, as carried on by the Sophists, which may serve as a supplement to a former article in the second number of this Journal, upon their general character and social position. But before I proceed to this, my main object, I wish to be allowed to add to my former remarks a few notes and observations with which subsequent reading has supplied me<sup>1</sup>.

A short passage of Cicero, Acad. II. 23, 72, having a very important bearing upon our argument, ought not to have been omitted in the discussion of the character of the Sophists, and the signification of their name. Num Sophistes? ita enim appellabantur ii qui ostentationis aut quæstus causa philosophabantur. From this we learn (1) that in Cicero's time these men were looked upon as philosophers, and not as mere professors of arts, or instructors of youth. Of their dabbings in philosophy several specimens will be given out of Aristotle by and by: (2) that in their speculations they had no serious purpose in view; their object being merely to show themselves off: and (3) that it was held to be characteristic of them that they 'philosophized for profit; that they were χρηματιστὰι ἀπὸ φαινομένης σοφίας ἀλλ' οὐκ οὔσης. Arist. de Soph. El.

In speaking of Zeno, p. 151, I said, that the explanation of the paradoxical arguments by which he endeavoured to prove the non-existence of motion had been reserved for modern ingenuity, referring to Ritter, Hist. Phil. I. 476, and Mill's System of Logic, Book v. Chap. 7, on Fallacies of Confusion, where

<sup>1</sup> This paper was intended to appear in an earlier number of this Journal.

a solution of one of them, the Achilles, is given. I believe I was misled by what is there stated "that the amusing logical puzzle of Achilles and the Tortoise has been too hard for the ingenuity or patience of many philosophers, and, among others, of Dr Thomas Brown, who considered the sophism insoluble." The solution is, in fact, as old as Aristotle. He often refers to these four arguments as plausible sophisms, and they are given at length in his *Physics*, z. 9, p. 239. b. 5, with the preface, *Ζήνων δὲ παραλογίζεται*. All the four, of which the Achilles is the most celebrated, seem to rest upon the same fallacy, (Brandis) their assumption, namely, of the infinite divisibility of time, without taking into account the corresponding infinite divisibility of space. Aristotle's solution is tantamount to this, *Phys.* z. 2, p. 233, 21. *Διὸ καὶ ὁ Ζήνωνος λόγος ψεῦδος λαμβάνει τὸ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι τὰ ἄπειρα διελθεῖν ἢ ἄφασθαι τῶν ἀπείρων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐν πεπερασμένῳ χρόνῳ . . . ὥστε ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ πεπερασμένῳ συμβαίνει διέναι τὸ ἄπειρον, καὶ ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀπείρων τοῖς ἀπείροις οὐ τοῖς πεπερασμένοις.*

Although, however, Aristotle, as we see, had either more patience or more ingenuity than Dr Thomas Brown, he was yet equally convinced with that philosopher of the difficulty of these puzzles, for he not only recurs to them again and again as specimens of plausible sophistry, but in the *Topics*, θ. 8, he fairly admits that the *λόγοι* are 'hard to solve,' *χαλεπὸν λύειν*, the knot of the argument hard to untie. Zeno was, nevertheless, no favorite with Aristotle, as indeed was hardly to be expected with the author of the *σοφιστικοὶ ἔλεγχοι*. In the *Metaphysics*, B. 5, 1001. b. 14, he stigmatises his speculations as *φορτικά*<sup>1</sup>, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὗτος θεωρεῖ φορτικῶς, an epithet implying coarseness and vulgarity, a want of philosophical dignity and refinement; perhaps here translatable by our word 'claptrap,' and expressing a character akin to the *ἀγροικία*, ascribed *Met.* A. 5, 987. a. 27, to the philosophy of Xenophanes and Melissus.

p. 152. The public feeling which condemned the acceptance of fee or reward for instruction seems to have been founded mainly upon two popular opinions current in the Greek states. The one was that which stigmatized as *βάνανσον* (mechanical, low, vulgar) the practice of every art or profession from which pecuniary profit was derived; including even medicine and the

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Plato calls vulgar, un-philosophical, popular talk, which won't

bear the test of a scientific examination, *φορτικά καὶ δημηγορικά*, *Gorg.* 482 E.

fine arts, Phidias and Ictinus, Zeuxis and Apelles, Herodicus and Hippocrates, with tanners and cobblers and sausage-makers. In the *Politics*, viii. 1, Aristotle thus defines βάνανσον ἔργον: "All works and arts and studies are to be esteemed 'mechanical,' which make either the body or the soul or the intellect of free citizens unserviceable for the uses and practice of virtue. Whence we give the name of mechanical to all arts which are of such a kind as to reduce the body to a worse condition, and all mercenary employments, for they absorb the whole mind (leave it, that is, no time for higher thoughts and occupations, the service of the state) and degrade it." And in another passage of the same treatise, vii. 9, he gives it as his opinion that all that is βάνανσον, and every other class of citizens that is not "an artificer of virtue," ought to be excluded from all share in the government. In the *Rhetoric* again, i. 9, p. 1367. a. 31, amongst a number of topics in dwelling on which the orator may count upon the sympathy of his audience, who will at once recognise them as agreeable to their own sentiments, he includes καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐργάζεσθαι βάνανσον τέχνην. ἐλευθέρου γὰρ τὸ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον ζῆν: where he assigns a somewhat different reason for the opinion that a mercenary art is βάνανσος, viz. that it destroys the independence of the person who exercises it. Hence it is, as he tells us a little before, p. 1367. a. 27, that κτήματα ἄκαρπα are more respectable than those which are profitable as well as ornamental; ἐλευθεριώτερα γάρ. Add *Eth. Eudem.* i. 4, p. 80, 24. βαναύσους δὲ λέγω τὰς ἐδραίας καὶ μισθαρνικάς, "sedentary and mercenary arts."

From the "banause" classes agriculturists are excepted (doubtless on the supposition that they don't sell their produce), Xenophon, *Oecon.* iv. 2—4, where the author endeavours at some length to point out the reason for his assertion, αἱ βαναυσικαὶ καλοῦμεναι καὶ ἐπὶ ῥῆτοί (defamed, cried out against) εἰσι, καὶ εἰκότως μέντοι πάντῃ ἀδοξοῦνται πρὸς τῶν πόλεων. Similarly Plato, *Soph.* 224 A, classes altogether as so many trades and branches of ἐμπορικὴ, all arts which are practised for profit, purchased, as he says, in one city and carried to another, and there brought to market like eatables and drinkables, whether they are displayed for the purpose of mere amusement, or with a serious object; somewhat maliciously including the art of conjuring (θαυματοποιική) with painting and music, and the (so-called) liberal arts in general; and, of course, more especially the object of the investigation, σοφιστική.



In accordance with the general feeling which these passages indicate, it might not unnaturally be thought that any one who aspired to the character of a philosopher and public instructor ought more than other men to avoid everything which could lower his profession in public estimation, and bring it into the category of *βάνανσοι τέχναι* and *ἐργασίαι μισθαρνικαί*. I am not defending this view, nor do I hold it to be more reasonable than the prejudice (for example) against professional acting at Rome; I merely wish to point out its probable bearing upon the question under discussion.

The other current opinion closely connected with the preceding, which I referred to as the ground of the popular objection to the sophistical innovation of receiving pay for instruction in philosophy and virtue, was that such instruction was not a fit object of barter and sale. This is very strongly marked in a passage of Plato's *Gorgias*, 520 D, E, where it is to be observed that the opinion is stated to be a general one, *αἰσχρὸν γενόμεσθαι*, not a private crotchet of Plato himself or his stalking-horse, Socrates. Socr. "Here then, it seems, we have the reason why there is no discredit in taking a fee for giving advice in any other case, as for instance, in building, or the rest of the arts. Call. Yes; it seems so. Socr. But about this particular process, the method, viz. of making oneself as good as possible, and managing one's own house or the state to the best advantage, to refuse to give advice without pecuniary compensation is accounted disgraceful, isn't it?"

An exaggeration of this feeling, and more purely Platonic, is the view taken of philosophical instruction in Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*, pp. 207—209. The relation between preceptor and pupil is there described as the true love, the *τόκος ἐν καλῷ*; the implanting of high thoughts and noble aspirations in the mind of a congenial recipient; and so perpetuating the memory of the instructor by a far fairer and nobler offspring than that by which mankind in general seek to leave a memorial and an image of themselves to future generations. This is the highest kind of love, surpassing even that of parent and child, and its aim and object immortality; *ἀθανασίας γὰρ χάριν παντὶ αὐτῇ ἢ σπουδῇ καὶ ὁ ἔρως ἔπεται*. Similar sentiments are expressed in the following passage of the *Phædrus*, 276 E:—

*Phædr.* "A most noble sport this, Socrates [Socrates had been comparing the imparting of philosophical instruction to the

sowing of seeds in flower-boxes or mimic gardens 'for sport,' *παίδιās χάριν*, in order to have the pleasure of watching their growth] with which the other is poor in comparison, to be able to sport with words (*i.e.* philosophy), and make stories about justice and the other questions you have named.

Socr. It is indeed, my dear Phædrus. And yet, I think, far nobler is the *earnest* about them, when, by the employment of the dialectical art, a man plants and sows in a soul which he has formed fitted to receive them, *words* with knowledge, which are able to defend themselves and him who planted them; and are *not* fruitless, but have a seed, whence propagated from one mind to another they are able to preserve it (this same seed) to immortality, and make their possessor happy to the utmost extent possible for a human being."

To one who held such views of the sacredness of the relation between the pupil and his instructor, and to all who shared them in any degree, it is little to be wondered at that the mixing up of the ordinary motives of pecuniary profit with so noble a profession should have seemed a pollution, and (as Socrates expresses it in the *Memorabilia*) an intellectual prostitution, dishonouring and degrading the high and holy character of the pursuit of philosophy and science.

p. 157. This opposition of *φύσις* and *νόμος* in moral science, which Aristotle refers to in the *de Soph. El.* c. 12, l. c., as characteristic of the sophistical speculations on this subject, is alluded to by him in another passage at the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, c. 1. He there explains the origin of the scepticism which this contrast was used by the Sophists to convey: "Things fair (honourable or beautiful, for *καλά* includes both, to the great detriment of any English translation of the word) and just, which are the objects of the investigation of 'politics' (of which *Ethics* are only a subordinate branch) are so full of variety and error that they are supposed to exist by convention only and not by nature. The nature of things good misleads us in the same way because many people receive injury from them . . ."

p. 158. Amongst the "poets" who may possibly be referred to by Plato in the passage cited from the *Laws*, I omitted to mention Euripides. I did not name him, partly because we have

no evidence of his being classed with the Sophists by any ancient writer except Aristophanes, and by him only indirectly; and partly because Plato might be supposed to have shared the admiration and esteem felt for him by his master Socrates—who is said never to have entered a theatre unless to witness the performance of one of Euripides' tragedies<sup>1</sup>—to such an extent at least, as to avoid associating him with the propagation of pernicious and immoral doctrines. However, as we certainly do find not only the sophistical spirit (which has been so often noticed by modern writers) in the works of Euripides, but also some of their peculiar opinions, as in the line of the *Æolus* (Fragm. XI.) τί δ' αἰσχρὸν, ἦν μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῇ, parodied by Aristoph. *Ran.* 1475 (Dind.), which is the application of the Protagorean axiom to morals: and even their language, comp. *Hecub.* 799:

ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ σθένουσι χά κείνων κρατῶν  
νόμος· νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς Θεοὺς ἡγούμεθα,  
καὶ ζῶμεν ἄδικα καὶ δίκαι' ὀρισμένοι,

it seems not impossible that he may be one of those whom Plato refers to in the *Laws*: and Agathon, Evenus of Paros, Licymnius, Theodectes (who supplies Aristotle with so many quotations in the *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*) and others who like them cultivated the new art of rhetoric together with various branches of poetry, may very likely have also been in Plato's mind when he spoke of "poets as well as prose-writers."

p. 162. *Arist. de Soph. El.* 12, 173, a. 7. sq.: "Their rule being, &c." This is precisely the artifice ascribed by Callicles to Socrates, an allegation founded doubtless upon his own practice under similar circumstances; *Gorg.* 482 E: σὺ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰς τοιαῦτα ἄγεις φορτικὰ καὶ δημηγορικὰ . . . ἃ φύσει μὲν οὐκ ἔστι καλὰ, νόμῳ δέ. ὥς τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἐστίν, ἥ τε φύσις καὶ ὁ νόμος (according to the doctrine of the Sophists) . . . ὁ δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο τὸ τοιοῦτον κατανεοηκῶς κακουργεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἐὰν μὲν τις κατὰ νόμον λέγῃ, κατὰ φύσιν ὑπερωτῶν, ἐὰν δὲ τὰ τῆς φύσεως, τὰ τοῦ νόμου. Neque obscurum est sophistam Socrati tribuere suam ipsius artem, eumque e moribus suis judicare, Stallb. ad loc.

p. 163. To the quotation from *Arist. Rhet.* I. 1. 4, add the parallel passage *Metaph.* I. 2, 1004. b. 24, περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ γένος στρέφεται ἡ σοφιστικὴ καὶ ἡ διαλεκτικὴ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἀλλὰ διαφέρει

<sup>1</sup> *Diog. Laert.* II. 5, 7. *Æl. Var. Hist.* II. 13. ap. Hartung *Eurip. Rest.* I. 131.



τῆς μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δυνάμεως, τῆς δὲ τοῦ βίου τῇ προαίρεσει. ἔστι δὲ ἡ διαλεκτικὴ πειραστικὴ περὶ ὧν ἡ φιλοσοφία γνωριστικὴ, ἡ δὲ σοφιστικὴ φαινομένη, οὐσα δ' οὐ.

In the Rhetoric, III. 2, there is another short passage in which Aristotle conveys his opinion decisively, though briefly and parenthetically, of the sophistical practice and method of reasoning: τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τῷ μὲν σοφιστῇ ὁμωνυμία χρησιμοι· παρὰ ταύτας γὰρ κακουργεῖ· τῷ ποιητῇ δὲ συνωνυμία. Ὀμωνυμία are words which under one form convey two or more different significations; which have, therefore, always been the richest source of fallacies and the favourite implements of quibblers and sophists of all ages,—the false-bottomed cups and boxes by which jugglers with words are enabled to play off their tricks and cheat (κακουργεῖν)<sup>1</sup> their unwary audience. Συνωνυμία, of which he gives as an example τὸ πορεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ βαδίζειν, different words expressing the same thing, are a much more innocent instrument of expression, and chiefly of use to “the poet” in ancient, and the divine in modern times. As these ὁμωνυμία must necessarily have always been, as they are now, the sophist’s chief instrument of delusion; as the distinction of ὁμωνυμία and συνωνυμία, first fixed by Aristotle, was ever a favourite with him (see Bonitz, Comm. in Metaph. p. 90); and further, as Prodicus, whatever quibbles he may have employed, was at any rate not devoted to this particular kind—for he distinguished, not confounded, the senses of words—one is rather surprised to find Spengel Art. Script. p. 59, supposing ‘Prodicus and his followers’ to be specially alluded to in this passage of the Rhetoric.

In the Metaphysics, E, 2, we have two or three specimens given of the philosophical questions which occupied the sophistical speculators, with which they edified their pupils and followers, and amused the public at large. They may, perhaps, help to enable us to form a judgment as to how far men like Plato and Aristotle were justified in the contempt and aversion which they felt for such reasoners and such instructors of youth.

Aristotle is examining the nature of τὸ συμβεβηκός: and he tells us incidentally, that the sophistical speculations were mainly employed upon this subject,—neglecting the true object of science, the essence of things, τὸ ὄν,—and that therefore, Plato (referring to ‘the Sophist,’ p. 237, sq. 254 A) was not far wrong in maintaining that ‘the sophistical art’ was concerned with the

<sup>1</sup> κακουργεῖν, comp. Rhet. I. 1. p. 36. Gorg. 483 A.

non-existent, τὸ μὴ ὂν<sup>1</sup>. In support of this he proceeds to give one or two well-known examples of these σοφιστικοὶ ἔλεγχοι. The first question is, "whether to be a musician and a grammarian is the same thing or different." This they seem to have left undetermined, being ready with their answer to either view of the subject. If you say the "same," they produce two men, one a grammarian, the other a musician to confute you. If you pronounce them different, they exhibit one who is both. [This seems so incredibly frivolous and absurd that I can only refer to the authority of Aristotle's excellent commentator Bonitz, whose explanation I have translated almost verbatim.] The second is to the same effect, καὶ μουσικὸς Κόρισκος καὶ Κόρισκος; i. e. you are asked whether Coriscus (Coriscus stands for any individual, as Socrates usually does in Aristotle's own reasonings) a musician and Coriscus is the same or different,—and similar reasoning is applied to the solution of the question. The third is thus stated: καὶ εἰ πᾶν ὃ ἂν ᾖ, μὴ αἰεὶ δὲ, γέγονεν, ὥστ' εἰ μουσικὸς ὢν γραμματικὸς γέγονε, καὶ γραμματικὸς μουσικὸς. This interesting question recurs in a slightly different form in Book κ. 8, 1064. b. 28, where the same remarks about Plato and τὸ συμβεβηκός are also repeated; and is further elucidated in the Topics, I. 11, 104. b. 24. The sophist demands whether all that exists, and is not eternal, has come into being, or 'become.' You naturally say, yes. Upon which your sophist will produce you a man that has been a musician first, and afterwards 'become' a grammarian: now, says he, generation (τὸ γίγνεσθαι) from 'musical' into grammatical is absurd, music cannot be converted into grammar; and yet the man was not *always* a grammarian; and therefore it follows, that a thing *may* exist which is not eternal and yet has not come into being, οὔτε γενόμενον οὔτ' αἰδίων. Q. E. D. "Musical" and "grammatical" are "accidents" of a man, and therefore Aristotle says that these sophistical discussions turn upon τὰ συμβεβηκότα. Compare Anal. Post. I. 2, init. where the sophistical method is called τὸν σοφιστικὸν

<sup>1</sup> If so, however, the Sophists must have been happily unconscious of the subject of their speculations, for they altogether denied, as Plato expressly says, the existence of τὸ μὴ ὂν; and founded upon this denial their favourite paradox, that it is impossible to assert what is false; arguing that as non-existence is impossible, everything which can

be said or thought must have a real substantial existence, and therefore every assertion its own truth and reality,—a theory which, I may add, is spoken of by Plato as belonging to all the sophists in common, and might therefore have been added to those cited in our examination of the question raised by Mr Grote, how far they can be considered a doctrinal sect.

τρόπον τὸν κατὰ συμβεβηκός. (Bon.) Here we have Plato and Aristotle uniting in attributing the same style of reasoning to the sophists, each to his own contemporaries: from which it appears that it was characteristic of all those to whom they agreed in applying the name 'Sophist,' that is, of all to whom it was appropriate in its offensive sense.

p. 168. With the passage of Isocrates, κατὰ τῶν σοφ. § 5, 6, should be compared Plat. Gorg. 519 c, d: οἱ σοφισταὶ τᾶλλα σοφοὶ ὄντες τοῦτο ἄτοπον ἐργάζονται πρᾶγμα· φάσκοντες γὰρ ἀρετῆς διδάσκαλοι εἶναι πολλάκις κατηγοροῦσι τῶν μαθητῶν ὡς ἀδικοῦσι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, τοὺς τε μισθοὺς ἀποστεροῦντες καὶ ἄλλην χάριν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντες, εἰ παθόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν. καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τί ἂν ἀλογώτερον εἴη πρᾶγμα, ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους γενομένους, ἐξαιρεθέντας μὲν ἀδικίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου, σχόντας δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ἀδικεῖν τούτῳ ᾧ οὐκ ἔχουσιν; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τοῦτο ἄτοπον εἶναι, ὦ ἑταῖρε; with which Heindorf further compares a similar passage Xen. Memor. i. 2, 7.

It is fortunate that the testimony of Plato to this self-condemnation of the sophists, which his *prejudices* against the class and propensity to satire are supposed to invalidate, is here confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of the *respectable* and *truth-loving* Isocrates. We learn from this beyond the possibility of question not only that the 'virtue' which they professed to teach was something more than a mere training of the intellectual faculties for public life, but also that by their own confession they altogether failed to impart it. It was truly, as Plato says, 'absurd' enough.

p. 170. Arist. de Anim. iii. 3. καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι ταῦτόν εἶναι φασιν. Conf. Metaph. γ. 5, 1009. b. 12: ὅλως δὲ διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν φρόνησιν μὲν τὴν αἴσθησιν, ταύτην δὲ εἶναι ἀλλοίωσιν, τὸ φαινόμενον κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀληθὲς εἶναι φασιν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν ἕκαστος τοιαύταις δόξαις γεγέννηται ἔνοχοι . . . καὶ Παρμενίδης δὲ ἀποφαίνεται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον . . . Ἀναξαγόρου δὲ καὶ ἀπόφθεγμα μνημονεύεται πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων τινὰς, ὅτι τοιαῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἔσται τὰ ὄντα οἷα ἂν ὑπολάβωσιν.

p. 171. In Metaph. γ. 5, init. and again κ. 6, init. there is a further explanation and criticism of Protagoras' dogma and its necessary consequences, in exact accordance with the views of its tendency taken by Plato and Aristotle in the passages already



cited pp. 169, 170. He there declares that this theory is tantamount to a denial of the "principium contradictionis" (*i. e.* as it is explained r. 3, 1005. b. 19, that it is impossible for a quality to belong, and not to belong, to the same subject at the same time and in the same sense) the most certain of all principles, βεβαιότης πασῶν τῶν ἀρχῶν, and the necessary foundation of all reasoning, without which reasoning of every kind becomes in fact impossible. The principium contradictionis, he tells us, was subverted by the doctrines of Heraclitus, as well as by that of Protagoras and his followers. ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δόξης (the negation of this principle) καὶ ὁ Πρωταγόρου λόγος, καὶ ἀνάγκη ὁμοίως ἄμφω αὐτοὺς ἢ εἶναι ἢ μὴ εἶναι. εἴτε γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα πάντα ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀνάγκη πάντα ἅμα ἀληθῆ καὶ ψευδῆ εἶναι. This is followed by a demonstration in some detail of what he has just laid down, showing how the two λόγοι do really coincide. He then proceeds, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος πρὸς πάντας τῆς ἐντεύξεως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ (men who, like Heraclitus, are really in earnest,) πειθοῦς δέονται, οἱ δὲ (the ἐριστικοὶ or sophists, who dispute from the mere love of talking, and a desire of showing their cleverness) βίας· ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπορῆσαι ὑπέλαβον οὕτως, τούτων εὐτατος ἡ ἄγνοια. [and accordingly for their benefit the author a little further on applies to the elucidation of the difficulty the grand secret of his philosophy, *viz.* the difference between δυνάμει and ἐντελεχεία—δυνάμει μὲν γὰρ, he triumphantly pronounces, ἐνδέχεται ἅμα ταῦτὸ εἶναι τὰ ἐναντία, ἐντελεχεία δ' οὐ.] . . . ὅσοι δὲ λόγου χάριν λέγουσι, τούτων δ' ἔλεγχος ἴσσις τοῦ τ' ἐν τῇ φωνῇ λόγου καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. (to them a summary confutation is the only cure for their quibbles and verbal fallacies). The origin of the error in the case of honest enquirers, he explains to be this: that they perceived that in nature contrary things are produced by change and generation from the same thing; now as nothing can proceed from nothing, they were led to suppose that these contraries must previously have existed in the thing from which they were produced; and so that it is possible for opposite qualities to reside in the same object. The other passage *Metaph.* K. 6, is a repetition in other words of the criticism just quoted.

It is not without reason, therefore, that in book Θ. 3, 1047. a. 6, ὁ Πρωταγόρου λόγος is used for a 'reductio ad absurdum.'

The last passage I have to quote on this subject is from *Metaph.* I. 1, 1053. a. 35. After discussing the meaning of τὸ εἶναι,

and deciding that it is the universal measure, he proceeds to make some observations upon measure generally, and then adds: Πρωταγόρας δ' ἀνθρωπὸν φησι πάντων εἶναι μέτρον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὸν ἐπιστήμονα εἰπὼν ἢ τὸν αἰσθανόμενον· τούτους δ' ὅτι ἔχουσιν ὁ μὲν αἰσθησιν ὁ δὲ ἐπιστήμην, ἃ φαμεν εἶναι μέτρα τῶν ὑποκειμένων. οὐθὲν δὴ λέγων περιττὸν φαίνεται τι λέγειν. "So that whilst he is in fact saying nothing very extraordinary he has the air of making an observation of value."

I doubt not that in the other works of this author similar expressions of his opinion of the sophists in their capacity of philosophers and public instructors may be found: but I think I have already adduced enough to show that the author of the Sophistical Confutations, of the Metaphysics, the Rhetoric, and the Nicomachean Ethics, was not carried away by a mere groundless prejudice imbibed from his master Plato, in the censures which he pronounces upon these frivolous, quibbling, long-winded, mercenary, sham-teaching, wealthy-and-distinguished-young-men-hunting, science-and-virtue-mongers. (Plat. Sophist.)

p. 177. I am now rather disposed to retract my implied assent to the assertion that Polus and the rest maintained no immoral doctrine. *Perhaps* this may be true of his ethical instructions, but these were so inseparably mixed up with the rhetoric which he professed and practised, that the latter must necessarily have given a strong colour to the other. The attentive reader of the argument between Polus and Socrates in the Gorgias 466—469, will be convinced—if he puts the smallest confidence in the fidelity of Plato's representation—from the sentiments which are there attributed to him, that he was as little likely to be scrupulous in the lessons which he conveyed to his disciples, as he would have been in the use of power had his favourite pursuit enabled him to attain to it. At p. 466 B, he insinuates that the object of rhetoric was to obtain power in the state to be used for purposes of tyranny and extortion: and again, 468 E, he argues from his own feelings on the subject that Socrates cannot be in earnest when he maintains that the most arbitrary exercise of authority, to rob and imprison and put to death any one you please, is not the highest good, nor the object which a man ought to aim at in life. This would certainly have seemed even to a Greek in the highest degree immoral: and it is so far in accordance with the general

character of the rhetoricians of this period and their art, that I believe this is no invention of Plato himself, but that he drew from the life when he put these sentiments into the mouth of Polus.

The opinions of Thrasymachus, as they are represented in the Republic, correspond pretty nearly with those of Polus. His theory of justice, and his notions of the pre-eminent advantages of complete injustice as it is exemplified in a tyranny could hardly have found favour with the least strict moralist of the day; see Rep. I. 343 A—344 C. I cannot draw as Mr Grote does, from the unblushing avowal that he is there described as making of these undoubtedly most unpopular opinions, the inference that he could not possibly have held them: I can only suppose that his reckless and intemperate character—of which we have other evidence besides that of Plato—led him to indulge in the open expression of principles and feelings which his more cautious fellows cherished but did not proclaim so loudly to the world. The views of Gorgias himself as to his art and its objects we may gather from Gorg. 452 D, seq. and Phileb. 58 A, to have been not dissimilar though less offensively put forward. But as I shall have occasion to return to this subject hereafter, I will not dwell longer upon it here.

p. 179. I have another pair of Sophists to add to our sophistical picture-gallery, though I am sorry to say they are the merest sketches; and even if I ventured to attempt to fill up the outline, I fear they would be little more authentic than the portraits of the Scottish kings at Holyrood, or of the popes at Siena or the Superga; like too many of the finished portraits in history, which are indebted for their marked features solely to the skill or audacity of the historian. Lycophron the Sophist is mentioned several times by Aristotle, and the insertion of his name will be all the more appropriate here, as it does not grace the pages of Smith's Dictionary of Biography. He seems like the rest to have combined the 'qualities' of rhetorician and sophist, and in the former capacity to have adopted an unusually vicious style. In the Rhetoric, III. 3, init. his writings supply Aristotle with some examples of tawdry and inflated ornament; which, with a number of others, the philosopher classes under the general name of ψυχρά, "frigidities."



The specimens he gives are <sup>1</sup> τὸν πολυπρόσωπον οὐρανόν "the many-faced or many-eyed heavens;" <sup>2</sup> τῆς μεγαλοκορύφου γῆς "the vast-summited or mighty-mountained earth;" <sup>3</sup> ἀκτὴν στενόπορον "a narrow-passaged shore." These are examples of the misuse of διπλᾶ ὀνόματα "compound words;" a species of the genus ψυχρά. Διπλᾶ ὀνόματα belong properly to poetry, Rhet. III. 2, Poet. 21, init., where they are defined. Another vice in his composition noticed by Aristotle, Rhet. I. c., is his abuse of γλῶτται, which is a second species of ψυχρά. Γλῶτται are explained by Aristotle, Poet. 21, and further, by Ernesti, Lex. Techn.<sup>4</sup>, to be "words foreign, strange, obsolete, unusual, obscure, [hence 'gloss' and glossarium, glossary, 'a collection of such words.'] The examples of this particular kind of frigidity from Lycophron are, the phrases by which he designated Xerxes, πέλωρον ἄνδρα 'a man-mountain' (from the Sicilian promontory); alluding apparently to his gigantic power, and not to his extraordinary stature; and Sciron, whom he called Σίννις ἀνὴρ (from the famous robber, as we might say 'a Turpin-man').

In the de Soph. El. 15, p. 174. b. 30, Lycophron is referred to in his character of Sophist, and an example cited from his writings of one of the sophistical artifices. It is convenient sometimes, says Aristotle, when you have nothing to say upon the subject proposed, to lay it on one side and pass on to something different; as Lycophron did when 'the lyre' was proposed to him as the subject of a panegyric; an allusion which is thus explained by the commentator, Alexander Aphrodisiensis. "The sophist, Lycophron, in panegyricizing the lyric poets, transferred his eulogium to the lyre; or, rather, when he was compelled by some persons to write an encomium upon the lyre, and found that

<sup>1</sup> πολυπρόσωπον οὐρανόν. quod plurimam variamque faciem habeat, ob sidera ipsa, nisi fallor. Victor. Doubtless. Compare Plato's exquisite epigram, may I not say the most beautiful in the Anthology, or elsewhere?

Ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς ἀστὴρ ἐμός· εἶθε γενοίμην

Οὐρανός, ὡς πολλοῖς ὁμασῶν εἰς σε βλέπω.

<sup>2</sup> μεγαλοκόρυφος. quod magnos vertices, arduos admodum colles sustineat. Victor.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκτὴ στενόπορος meaning apparently a narrow strait, or possibly, an isthmus. The word occurs as an epithet in Æschylus, P. V. 729, and Euripides, Iph. Aul. 1497, and also in Herodotus, VII. 211, and in the historians as a substantive, in the sense of a 'defile' or 'a strait.'

<sup>4</sup> Add to the illustrations cited by Ernesti, Quintil. Inst. Orat. I. I. 35, protinus enim potest interpretationem linguæ secretioris, quam Græci γλώσσας vocant, dum aliud agitur ediscere.

he hadn't very much to say about it, he first very briefly touched upon the praises of the sensible lyre, which we have here on earth (*ταύτην*), and then mounted up to that in heaven; for there is in heaven, you must know, a constellation, consisting of a number of stars, called the lyre, upon which he composed a long and beautiful and excellent discourse."

In the 6th chapter of book H. of the *Metaphysics*, which is occupied with an enquiry into 'the cause of the unity of a definition, composed as it is of several parts,' mention of him occurs as one who had attempted to suggest an explanation of the phenomenon. His solution was that it was effected by *συνουσία*, as others held that *μέθεξις*, or *σύνθεσις*, or *συνδεσμός*, (all, as Aristotle observes, highly explanatory of the matter) was the cause of it—*οἱ δὲ συνουσιάν, ὥσπερ Λυκόφρων φησὶν εἶναι τὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ ψυχῆς*.

In the last passage we found him dealing in the acute and satisfactory manner which distinguished the sophistical speculation, with a difficult question in metaphysics: he appears again in the *Physics*, i. p. 185. b. 28, employed in the endeavour to evade the (presumed) necessity of confounding *ἐν* and *πολλά* by calling 'one' 'many,' which the language in common use entailed upon those who employed it. This he effected by suppressing the copula *ἔστι*. *ἐθορυβοῦντο δὲ καὶ οἱ ὕστεροι τῶν ἀρχαίων ὅπως μὴ ἅμα γένηται αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν καὶ πολλά. διὸ οἱ μὲν τὸ ἔστιν ἀφείλον, ὥσπερ Λυκόφρων*. The object of this device is there stated by Simplicius: *ὁ Λυκόφρων ἀφήρει τὸ ἔστι τῶν κατηγορημάτων, λέγων Σωκράτης λευκός, ὡς αὐτῶν καθ' αὐτὰ τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἄνευ τοῦ ἔστι μὴ ποιούντων ὄντος προσθήκην* (under the idea that the accidents by themselves, as *λευκός* for example, without the word 'is' attached no signification of existence). What Lycophron could have supposed himself to mean by *Σωκράτης λευκός* without *ἔστι* it is hard to say, for as Simplicius observes the copula is absolutely necessary to give any meaning to the words; without it no assertion can be made, no proposition can be true or false. His object was to avoid saying that any one thing *is* another, by which he thought that one thing was converted into two. Others for the like reason, continues Aristotle, changed the form of expression, and refusing to say *λευκός ἐστιν, βαδίζων ἐστίν*, condensed them into *λελεύκωται, βαδίζει*, (which, as Simplicius observes with equal truth and simplicity, is very much the same as the other) . . . . . ὡς

μοναχῶς λεγομένου τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ τοῦ ὄντος. It is uncertain what persons are here referred to. Simplicius gives us no information on the subject. Menedemus and the Eretrian School (a branch of the Megarian), to whom the doctrine is attributed by Joannes Philoponus, went further in the same direction, and if they were consistent in practice must have reduced themselves to total silence, for they declared that no one thing could be predicated of another, but that each thing must be expressed nakedly by itself, as man man, and white white. Simplicius ad loc. Ritter and Preller, who cite the passage, Hist. Phil. § 243, do not decide the point. I think Antisthenes must be meant, of whom it is said, Arist. Metaph. Δ. 29, 1024. a. 32, that he εὐηθῶς ᾤετο μηθὲν ἀξιῶν λέγεσθαι πλὴν τῷ οἰκείῳ λόγῳ ἐν ἐφ' ἐνός· ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε μὴ εἶναι ἀντιλέγειν. σχεδὸν δὲ μηδὲ ψεύδεσθαι. The words λέγεσθαι πλὴν ἐν ἐφ' ἐνός, in the above passage, seem to correspond precisely with ὡς μοναχῶς . . . ὄντος at the conclusion of that quoted from the Physics; and the following citation from Plato, Soph. 251 B, seems to me to settle the question: ὅθεν γε, οἶμαι, τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ τῶν γερόντων τοῖς ὀψιμαθέσι (meaning Antisthenes) θοῖνῃν παρεσκευάκαμεν· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀντιλαβέσθαι παντὶ πρόχειρον ὥς ἀδύνατον τὰ τε πολλὰ ἐν καὶ τὸ ἐν πολλὰ εἶναι, καὶ ὀήπου χαίρουσιν οὐκ ἐῶντες ἀγαθὸν λέγειν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθόν, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον ἄνθρωπον. The Megarians and Stilpo, says Stallbaum, are also referred to; which I do not at all deny.

This same paradoxical opinion of Antisthenes and his followers, οἱ Ἀντισθενεῖοι καὶ οἱ οὕτως ἀπαίδευτοι, is again alluded to by Aristotle, Met. H. 3, 1043. b. 23, where it is said that they denied the possibility of defining the essence of a thing. See Bonitz, ad loc.

Quitting these profound and useful speculations, which I quote chiefly with the view of showing the value and importance of these sophistical contributions to philosophy, I will now cite in conclusion an observation attributed to him by Aristotle, Polit. III. 9, 8, at once so true and so harmless, that it will enable us to part on good terms with 'Lycophron the sophist.' It is to the effect that "law is a compact (among the citizens), and a security to each other for the maintenance of justice, but unable itself to make the citizens good and just."

On Bryson the sophist, who is the second addition I have to make to my list, we shall perhaps be able to collect a little more definite information. He also is despatched with a very



few lines in Smith's Dictionary. He was born at Heraclea in Pontus (Plutarch Rom. ap. Schweig. ad Athen. xi. 508) and his father's name was Herodorus, Arist. Hist. Anim. z. 5, p. 563. a. 7, i. 11, p. 615. a. 10 (quoted by Waitz, Organon, ii. 324) who seems to have been something of a naturalist, for Aristotle twice refers to opinions of his on Natural History. Like Antiphon (before mentioned) he attempted to square the circle: an attempt which is three times referred to by Aristotle, Anal. Post. i. 9, p. 75. b. 40; de Soph. El. 11. 171. b. 16; 172. a. 4; and stigmatised by him as σοφιστικός, because Bryson did not deduce his method from principles properly belonging to the science, but had recourse to those which are common to all studies and sciences. His method is explained by Heilbronner, Hist. matheseos universæ, and criticised by Montucla, Histoire des Recherches sur la quadrature du cercle, both quoted by Waitz on the passage of the Post. Analyt. On Antiphon's method, see the same, Vol. ii. p. 551. In the Rhetoric iii. 2, he is again cited as the author of a σοφιστικὸς λόγος, viz. οὐθένα αἰσχρολογεῖν<sup>1</sup>, that

<sup>1</sup> Compare Quintilian VIII. 3, 39, cited by Gaisford. Quod (i. e. obscena nudis nominibus enunciare) viderint qui non putant esse vitanda, quia nec sit vox ulla natura turpis, et si qua est rei deformitas, alia quoque appellatione quacunque ad intellectum eundem nihilominus perveniat.

This notion was afterwards adopted by the Stoics, who appear to have claimed a truly Corcyrean liberty of expression: ὁ σοφὸς εὐθυβήρημονήσει, was their axiom: a claim which they supported, if Cicero represents their arguments fairly, by the most transparently fallacious reasoning. In a very unaccountable letter of Cicero to Pætus (ad Div. ix. 22), in reply to one in which his correspondent, who was an Epicurean, had used a very broad and downright word, the writer reproduces with appropriate illustrations the Stoic arguments for freedom of speech. He begins by saying that *he*, for his part, likes delicacy (verecundiam), whereas Pætus seems to prefer liberty of speech. By way of illustrating his own love of

delicacy, he then proceeds gravely and without the least provocation to go through a long catalogue of the most indecent terms which the Latin and Greek languages supply, in order to determine to the satisfaction rather of himself apparently than of his friend, which of them may be employed by a respectable Roman without compromising his "gravitas" and "severitas." He opens the discussion with the following sentence. Atque hoc (libertas loquendi) Zenoni placuit, homini mehercule acuto: etsi Academiæ nostræ cum eo magna rixa est. Sed ut dico placet Stoicis suo quamque rem nomine appellare. Sic enim disserunt: nihil esse obscenum, nihil turpe dictu: nam si quod sit in obscenitate flagitium, id aut in re esse aut in verbo: nihil esse tertium. In re non est... vides igitur, quum eadem res sit, quia verba non sint, nihil videri turpe. Ergo in re non est: multo minus in verbis. Si enim quod verbo significatur id turpe non est, verbum quod significat turpe esse non potest. And the letter concludes thus:

there is no such thing as coarse or obscene language, because, said he, the word which plainly expresses your meaning (when a spade is called a spade) has exactly the same signification as the other (which throws a decent veil over it.) But this is false, replies Aristotle, for one word is more appropriate than another, &c.—which is very much the kind of answer that the paradox deserves.

This Bryson seems to be the same person who is mentioned by Theopompus (Athen. xi. 508. c) as one of the authors from whom he says Plato borrowed. The passage is worth quoting as a specimen of the reckless groundless malevolent criticism which we meet with oftener, I think, in ancient, (though they had no reviews) even than in modern writers. “Most of his dialogues, says he, will be found to be unprofitable and false: and the greater part of them not his own, taken from the ‘entertainments’ (διατριβαί, lusus; dialogues so called) of Aristippus, and some from those of Antisthenes, and many from those of Bryson of Heraclea.”

A certain Bryson—most likely the same, though the commentators have not made up their minds upon the point—is attacked together with Plato by the comic poet Ephippus, a poet of the middle comedy contemporary with Plato, in a fragment quoted by Athenæus xi. 509. c. The received reading of the four first lines of this fragment is as follows:

ἔπειτ' ἀναστὰς εὖστοχος νεανίας  
τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα καὶ  
Βρύσωνα θρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων,  
πληγείς ἀνάγκη, ληψολιγομίσθῳ τέχνῃ  
συνών τις, κ.τ.λ.

on which Schweighaeuser remarks, intelligi debebit scholam Athenis habuisse hunc Brysonem, ibique vel philosophiam vel oratoriam omninoque eam artem docuisse, quam qui profitebantur Sophistæ appellabantur. But as Meineke observes, (Fragm. Comm. Gr. III. 332) the old reading requires us to suppose that Bryson and Plato lectured *together* in the Academy,

Itaque *tectis* (one would be curious to know what Cicero's notion of plain speaking was) *verbis ea ad te scripsi quæ apertissimis agunt Stoici. Sed illi etiam crepitus aiunt æque liberos ac ructus esse oportere.*

It is much to be desired that the Latin poets Catullus, Juvenal, Horace, Martial, &c. had followed the academic practice, Platonis verecundiam, and shown somewhat less of the Stoic contempt for decency and refinement.

“which cannot be proved;” and is no doubt highly improbable. To remedy this he changes *a* into *o* and joins *Βρύσωνα* with the next word, making one long Aristophanic compound of the whole line *Βρυσωνοθρασυμαχειοληψικερμάτων* which will now mean “one of those from the Academy under Plato, and those who like Bryson and Thrasymachus (a sophist and rhetorician famous for his impudence, Plat. Rep. Lib. i. Arist Rhet. ii. 23), are ready to take the very smallest fees.” From which we may naturally infer that Bryson was a rhetorician and sophist, like the rest of that class, and contemporary with Plato: and this agrees perfectly with all that we know else about him. Again, one of the charges made against him by Ehippus, according to Athenæus, is that he and Plato *έσυκοφάντουν έπ’ άργυρίω*: for which in the received text of the fragment there is no foundation. We must therefore adopt Meineke’s excellent emendation *ληψιολογομίσθω* for *ληψολιγομίσθω* (Meineke gives another reason; *quæ sit ars ista δλίγον μισθόν λαμβάνουσα non perspicio*) which will now signify “an art which takes fees for speeches,” *i. e.* for writing speeches to be used by parties in the law-courts: and this is the very art practised by all the rhetoricians and sophists of the time, from Corax, Tisias, and Gorgias downwards, with whom Bryson is henceforward to be ranked. If this has been made out to the satisfaction of my readers, they will agree with me in thinking that this Bryson is not the same as the one who is mentioned by Iamblichus (Vit. Pyth. § 104) as a Pythagorean, a passage of whose writings is cited by Stobæus Serm. 83 amongst other Pythagorean fragments. There must be again a third person of this name spoken of as an Achæan by Diogenes Laertius and Suidas. These latter references I have taken from Schweighæuser’s note on Athen. xi. 508.

p. 182. To the instances of *σοφιστής* employed in a not unfavourable sense add Plat. Soph. 221. D, where it is applied to the *άσπαλιευτής* or fisher with rod and line, as the opposite of *ιδιώτης*, to signify simply a craftsman, *τεχνίτης*, *δημιουργός*. See further on this subject Meineke on Cratinus Archil. Fr. 2. Fr. Comm. Gr. ii. 16. From his quotations it appears that it was used by Cratinus, Phrynichus, Plato (the comic poet) and Anaxandrides, for ‘an artist,’ as it was in the earlier writers, without any offensive imputation. Similarly Plato (according to the same



writer, I. 184) in his *Σοφισταί* used the word in its older and wide signification: and included under this title artists of every kind. The scholiast on Arist. Nub. 330, informs us that he attacked Bacchylides the Opuntian fluteplayer under this designation; and Meineke adds the names of Apolexis, Xenocles the tragic poet, and Dracontides from various scholiasts. The principal objects of his satire were however the sophists in the sense in which the term is generally understood, and his namesake the philosopher employed it.

(NOTE.)—The references to Aristotle's Rhetoric are to the pages and lines of Bekker's *small* edition. Berlin, 1831.

ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἄδικος ὢν δεινὸς λέγειν  
πέφυκε πλείστην ζημίαν ὀφλισκάνει  
γλώσση γὰρ αὐχῶν τᾷδικ' εὖ περιστελεῖν  
τολμᾷ πανουργεῖν· ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄγαν σοφός.

Eur. Med. 580.

ἀγλωσσία δὲ πολλάκις ληφθεὶς ἀνὴρ  
δίκαια λέξας ἥσσον εὐγλώσσου φέρει.

Id. Alexander. Fr. XIII.

Having at length despatched the notes and additions to my former paper, which have grown under my hands to a magnitude as disproportionate to my original intention as to their intrinsic value, I proceed to the discussion of the main subject of this article, the Sophistical Rhetoric. I think that I shall be able to show that this rhetoric, the principal instrument of instruction employed by most of the Sophists, and the principal means by which they acquired their great fame and influence, was as unscientific and unprincipled as the rest of the arts and philosophy they taught; and that all the hard words which Plato and Aristotle applied to it were fully warranted by the character of the thing which they described: that the style which the Sophists cultivated was often vicious, the treatises they wrote mostly frivolous, and the practice they encouraged and the notions they instilled demoralizing. The Sophistical Rhetoricians may be considered in three different characters: as composers, for they were the first authors who endeavoured to apply definite rules and principles to prose composition<sup>1</sup>, and to write by system; as public instructors, who contrived to get into their own hands and

<sup>1</sup> qui primi traduntur arte quadam verba vinxisse. Cic. Orat. 13. 40.

divert into this new channel the entire intellectual education of a large portion of the youth of Greece; and still further, they must have exerted no inconsiderable influence upon the general morality of the age through the medium either of the speeches which they wrote for the use of pleaders in the courts of law, or of the ἐπιδείξεις by which they displayed their own ingenuity and powers of writing, many of them probably amongst the most popular works of the time. In all these characters they incurred the unfeigned contempt of Plato, and, perhaps in a less degree, of Aristotle. And as ridicule was never more delicately and amusingly expressed than in Plato's dissection of their system in the Phædrus, where "he holds up the web of rhetoric to the light to let us see how coarse its texture (δυστηκὸς τὸ ἥτριον) is" p. 267. E, so probably never was it better deserved. As a man of consummate taste, and one of the greatest, if not *the* greatest, masters of the art of writing that the world has ever seen, he could not but be revolted by the elaborate affectations and grotesque awkwardness of the new style, with its endless accumulation of ἀντίθετα and ἰσόκωλα and ὁμοιοτέλευτα, and all the rest of its unnatural artifices: as a genuine philosopher he could not fail to be sensible of the frivolous and unscientific character of the system, with all its array of useless divisions and subdivisions, and empty newfangled technical terms, dwelling upon the accessories and overlooking the essentials of the art which was the professed object of cultivation: and as a lover of virtue and of his country and one who had the interests of truth and justice nearly at heart, he lifted up his voice against a system whose direct tendency was to subvert the principles by which society was held together, and to corrupt and demoralize all who came within the sphere of its influence. These are heavy charges; but Aristotle echoes them all in passages which will be quoted hereafter; and I think they can be substantiated by unimpeachable evidence. In attempting to make them good I propose to give a brief historical account of these early rhetoricians; and in so doing I cannot avoid frequent reference, tacit or acknowledged, to the συναγωγή τεχνῶν of Dr L. Spengel, who has gone over the whole ground, and collected with German industry and research all or nearly all the passages which bear upon the subject. Most of them are of course derived from the most obvious sources, such as Aristotle's Rhetoric, the Platonic

dialogues which treat of these matters, Cicero, Quintilian, &c. : and in any quotations which I may have occasion to make of such passages, as any one who writes at all upon the subject must necessarily go over the same ground for himself, I shall not think it necessary to make any special acknowledgment ; where I am indebted to him for any more recondite or out of the way piece of information I shall not fail to own my obligation.

It may strike us at first sight as surprising that this subject of Rhetoric should have engrossed at Athens and elsewhere a share of public attention so disproportionately large as we are apt to consider it, when we compare it with the place it occupies in men's thoughts nowadays : that it should have contrived to get itself mixed up with so many of Plato's speculations—two entire treatises, the *Phædrus* and *Gorgias*, being occupied with it, whilst it perpetually 'crops out' in others where it seems to have no manner of business—and should have called forth from Aristotle one of the longest and most elaborate of his works. This has been already in part explained. It engrossed men's thoughts to such an extent at the end of the fifth century before Christ and onward through the greater part of that which succeeded, partly because it was of recent growth, and had all the interest and attraction of novelty ; and perhaps still more from the undue extent of the field of knowledge which, in the absence of any well-defined limits, incident to the unsettled state and imperfect cultivation of the arts and sciences at that period, it was permitted to monopolize ; for it claimed in these early times the entire direction of a young man's studies, and seems to have embraced or superseded in a great measure the intellectual part of the old system of education<sup>1</sup>. Add to this its great

<sup>1</sup> The same opinion continued to prevail in much later times. The "*judicious*" (Whately, *Rhetoric*) Quintilian sets down *inter alia all the virtues* as necessary accomplishments of a perfect orator. *Proem.* § 9. *Oratorem autem instituimus illum perfectum qui esse nisi vir bonus non potest : ideoque non dicendi modo eximiam in eo facultatem, sed omnes animi virtutes exigimus :* and accordingly proceeds to lay claim to a considerable portion of the domain of philosophy, and "annex" it without

ceremony to his favourite study. The orator must be not only a perfect model of virtue, but also versed in all knowledge as well as endowed with every kind of talent for speaking, § 18. And so in the division of his work he assigns the first book to the investigation of the subjects which precede the proper office of the rhetorician, § 21. Indeed, unlike the ram in the fable, (*Belier, mon ami, si vous commencez par le commencement vous me feriez grand plaisir*), he begins at the very beginning. *Igitur*



importance as a weapon of attack or defence, to be used in the law-courts and public assemblies; an instrument which was

*nato filio*, pater spem de illo primum quam optimam capiat (an unnecessary exhortation, one would suppose, to most fathers of modern times, whatever might have been required by the Brutuses and Manliuses of ancient Rome): and in the fourth section he proceeds to give directions *for the choice of a nurse*. A great part of the entire work is a treatise on education generally: in which Dr Whately thinks (*Rhetoric*, *Introd.*) he was no mean proficient. In the same way Isocrates uses the general term *παιδεύειν*, *κατὰ τῶν Σοφ.* § 1, to signify instruction in rhetoric, or the profession of the Sophistical Rhetoricians: and Anaximenes in the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, c. 1. p. 1421. a. 18, similarly gives it the name of *παιδεῖα*; and again, Aristotle complains, *Rhet.* 1. 2. p. 6, 21, that rhetoric in his time had crept into the habit—the wolf into the sheep's clothing—of politics, *ὑποδύεται ὑπὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτικῆς* [an expression borrowed from Plato, *Gorg.* 464. D, E]; had arrogated to itself the whole field of political science, partly from the ignorance of those who asserted such a claim, partly from their ostentatious quackery, and partly from other causes due to the weakness of human nature.

In a similar spirit of usurpation, Isocrates, in whom the practice of the sophistical rhetoric was supposed to have reached its culminating point, christens his own art, including it apparently with a number of others—for the word in his mouth has a very vague and general sense—*φιλοσοφία*. See for instances, *κ. τ. Σοφ.* §§ 1, 11, 14, 18, 21. *Panath.* §§ 9, 11. *Phil.* § 84. *Helen.* §§ 66, 67. *de Pace*, § 5. *de Perm.* § 266. In the last-mentioned exercise §§ 180–192 he gives an account of *φιλοσοφία* in his sense; and includes in it all branches of mental education, in which rhetoric of course occupies the foremost place. Com-

pare again Anaximenes, *Ῥητ. πρ. Ἀλέξ.* 1. p. 1421. a. 16, who implores Alexander to cling to 'philosophy,' meaning thereby rhetoric: and also Quintilian II. 15, 33, *Quidam etiam philosophiæ (partem vocant) quorum est Isocrates*.

The art itself, if we may argue from the compositions of Isocrates, its greatest master, seems to have had for its aim and object, besides the more general one of imposing upon public credulity, the construction of sentences as long, artificial, elaborate, and unmeaning, as the Greek language would allow; the greatest amount of words with the smallest expenditure of sense. The one great merit of this writer, besides purity of language, and a certain kind of rather monotonous harmony in his periods, is perspicuity: and fortunate indeed is it for his reputation that his meaning is not hard to discover. For so scanty is the ore, and so overlaid with an inconceivable mass of rubbish of every description, that were it otherwise, the most enthusiastic digger would speedily desist from his ill-paid labour.

Amongst the qualifications requisite for an orator, Isocrates seems to have reckoned "impudence"—at any rate he ascribes his own failure at the Athenian bar to the want of voice and audacity. *Phil.* § 81. *Panath.* § 10; disclaiming with an unusual, and in this instance most unnecessary, modesty the possession of the latter accomplishment. That he certainly underrated his own powers in this particular, will I think be admitted by all who have even a moderate degree of acquaintance with his writings; but I am content to rest his claims upon this single passage, *de Perm.* § 166. *Ἐτι δὲ δευνότερον, εἰ Πίνδαρον μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότες ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς μόνου ῥήματος, οὗ τὴν πόλιν λείψμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὠνόμασεν, οὕτως ἐτίμησαν ὥστε καὶ πρόξενον ποιήσασθαι καὶ δωρεὰν μυρία*

rendered especially necessary by the ultra democratic form which the Athenian constitution had assumed, the state of society which it had engendered, and the litigious<sup>1</sup> unscrupulous character of the citizens. A remarkable illustration of the defenceless condition of all those whose wealth and station made them worth assailing is given by Xenophon (Mem. II. 9), and supplies us with some measure of the value of such an instrument of self-defence in such a state of society. Socrates, he says, once heard Crito complaining of the difficulty of living at Athens if a man were disposed to lead a quiet life and mind his own business. "For as it is, said he, people are constantly bringing actions against me, not because I have done them any wrong, but because they think I would sooner pay them money than undergo all this trouble and vexation." Socrates in reply reminds him of the dogs he employs to defend his flocks from the wolves; and the result of the conversation is, that Crito provides himself with such a dog in the person of one Archedemus; a poor man, but *ικανὸν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πράξαι*; one who possessed those qualifications for speech and action which Crito either wanted or was too lazy to exercise: who in process of time became so useful in protecting the fat sheep (his employer) from the sycophant-wolves that were always prowling about intent upon a slice of mutton, that Crito lent him to some of the neighbouring shepherds to do them the same good turn. And so it came to pass that Archedemus grew rich, and Crito 'lived happy ever afterwards;' and, as Xenophon concludes with truly classical simplicity, 'after this Archedemus not only was one of Crito's friends, but was honoured also by the rest of the friends of Crito.'

αὐτῷ δοῦναι δραχμὰς, ἐμοὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείω καὶ κάλλιον ἐγκεκωμακότε καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους μὴδ' ἀσφαλῶς ἐγγένοιο καταβιῶναι τὸν ἐπιλοιπὸν χρόνον. However, as Isocrates' works were composed only for the closet, his assurance of countenance may have been no more than sufficient to enable him to look his own written self-commendations steadily in the face without blushing, and not to give him confidence to meet the gaze of a public assembly. Quintilian's character of this writer is upon the whole not unfair, Inst. Orat. x. i. 79, though I think

some of his commendations might have been modified.

<sup>1</sup> The younger Pericles in Xen. Mem. III. 5. 16, in a conversation with Socrates, in which he gives a lamentable account of the character of his countrymen, mentions this as one of their most prominent faults; καὶ πλείστας δίκας ἀλλήλοις δικάζονται καὶ προαιροῦνται μᾶλλον οὕτω κερδαίνειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ συνωφελοῦντες αὐτούς,—thus fully confirming in this point the testimony of Aristophanes to this defect of his contemporaries.

If besides these accidental causes which belonged to the time and place in which the new art grew and flourished, we take into account the real and intrinsic interest of the study and practice of rhetoric, embracing as it then did the cultivation of prose composition, grammar, criticism, and the kindred studies<sup>1</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> See K. O. Müller, *Hist. of Greek Lit.* ch. XXXII. This judicious and accomplished writer estimates the services which the Sophists conferred on Greek prose composition at a somewhat higher value than that which I should be disposed to set upon them. "The formation of an artificial prose style is due entirely to the Sophists, and although they did not at first proceed according to a right method, they may be considered as having laid a foundation for the polished diction of Plato and Demosthenes," § 3. So far as the *artificial* graces of language and composition are concerned, such as the construction of periods, which Isocrates was thought to have carried to perfection, the balance of clauses, antithetical turns of sentences, and such like devices, this may safely be admitted; and they undoubtedly did *something*—though from the specimens which will be afterwards produced apparently not very much—towards the enforcement of accuracy and propriety of expression, by the distinctions which they drew between terms popularly used as synonyms, by the few elementary grammatical rules which they established, and by the attention which they bestowed upon the cultivation of style in general; and, moreover, the compositions of some of the most celebrated of them, such as Gorgias, Polus and Alcidas, may also have served as a beacon and a warning against particular faults, and so have unintentionally had a beneficial effect in promoting a purer taste—but I cannot believe that Plato was indebted for any of the peculiar excellencies of his style to any such authors: indeed he is singularly free from any affectation of fine writing, and all his

beauties are of the most natural kind; and when we remember the easy flow, the transparent clearness and the simple unaffected elegance of the writings (some of which may almost be called prose) of Euripides and Aristophanes, neither of whom can be said to have formed his *style* upon the sophistical model, whatever may be thought of the *sentiments* of the former, I cannot but think that Plato and the best of the Greek prose authors would have written pretty much as they did, whether Gorgias and Protagoras and Polus and Thrasymachus had ever existed or not.

Euripides was looked upon as the originator of that natural easy style in which the height of art, which disguises art, is exhibited. *Arist. Rhet.* III. 2. p. 115, 9. κλέπεται δ' εὖ ἐάν τις ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας διαλέκτου ἐκλέγων συντιθῇ· ὅπερ Εὐριπίδης ποιεῖ καὶ ὑπέδειξε πρῶτος. His great persecutor Aristophanes could not help acknowledging the neatness and terseness of his composition, and proved the genuineness of his admiration by adopting it himself:

χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ  
στοργγύλῳ,  
τοὺς νοὺς δ' ἀγοραλοὺς ἦττον ἢ κείνος  
ποιῶ.

Σκην. καταλαβ. Fr. 4. Meineke. This confession was extorted from him by the attacks of his comic rivals, who charged him with copying Euripides whilst he ridiculed him. *Ἀριστοφάνης* ἐκωμωδεῖτο ἐπὶ τῷ σκώπτειν μὲν Εὐριπίδην μμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτόν. *Schol. Plat. Apol.* ap. Meineke, l. c.; and Cratinus coined a word to express this, *Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν*. Fr. inc. 155. Mein. See also Thirlw. *Hist. of Greece*, IV. 262 not. (1st ed.)



importance of public speaking in a 'hearing age,' when it was even more than now necessary to a politician—and every Athenian *was* a politician—legislator<sup>1</sup> and statesman, and the chief avenue to distinction; we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the phenomenon which gave occasion to these remarks, the apparently undue share namely of public attention which rhetoric engrossed at this period.

It will perhaps not be out of place, before we proceed to exemplify the abuse of rhetoric in our historical sketch of its early professors, to point out briefly what is laid down by more exact and scientific writers as to its province and true use. With the purpose of contrasting the two, I have placed at the head of this part of my subject two passages, in which "with Euripidean smartness" (*κομψευρικῶς*) terseness and simplicity the use and abuse of the art are touched upon: and whilst we are speaking of the art and its professors in the mass, it will be as well to collect here such observations as we have to make upon them in general, before we descend to the particulars which we find recorded of individuals, and on which the charges above brought against them will mainly rest.

Plato, the first opponent of the new art who discussed it at all systematically, in the principal dialogue which he devotes to its criticism is rather engaged in demolishing the systems and ridiculing the practice of the preceding and contemporary rhetoricians than in attempting to establish anything which might occupy their place: he rather wishes to show that rhetoric is no art at all, a mere unscientific knack or 'use,' *ἄτεχνος τριβή*, Phædr. 260. E, than to fix its limits and define its province. In fact according to him, Ib. 277. B, the only true 'art of words' is his own dialectical method; of which the received rhetoric is merely a spurious imitation, its only object being to deceive, Ib. 261. E, 263. B, to acquire and to impart a show of knowledge without

<sup>1</sup> Hence it is that Plato speaks of Solon (Phædr. 278. c), and indeed of all the public men of Athens as rhetoricians. Compare Whately, Rhet. Introd., "when the only way of addressing the public was by orations, and when all political measures were debated in popular assemblies, the character of Orator, Author, and Politician, almost entirely coincided;

he who would communicate his ideas to the world, or would gain political power, and carry his legislative schemes into effect, was necessarily a speaker; since, as Pericles is made to remark by Thucydides, 'one who forms a judgment on any point, but cannot explain himself clearly to the people, might as well have never thought at all on the subject.'"

the reality; that consequently an ordinary orator who attempts to give advice to a popular assembly, and the audience who listen to him, are in much the same case as a man who should undertake to direct his friend in the purchase of a horse for military service, and, both being perfectly ignorant of the nature of the animal, should describe to him a creature with long ears, &c. and so palm off upon him an ass instead of the nobler quadruped. Ib. 260. B. Comp. Theæt. 201. A. Gorg. 459. B. And most of these charges are repeated in another form in the *Gorgias*. He further condemns the existing art of rhetoric as foolish and frivolous, consisting of empty rules and tasteless illustrations—incapable of teaching even that for which it professes to give minute directions—producing a mere show of skill and knowledge without substance or true science; and further on moral grounds, as directly encouraging falsehood and fraud, trickery and imposture: and its object is thus summarily described in the *Republic* II. 365. D; εἰσὶ τε πειθοῦς διδάσκαλοι, says Adimantus, σοφίαν δημηγορικὴν τε καὶ δικανικὴν διδόντες, ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν πείσομεν, τὰ δὲ βιασόμεθα, ὥς πλεονεκτοῦντες δίκην μὴ δίδοναι<sup>1</sup>.

True it is that, as far as the use of rhetoric is concerned, Plato *does* take a very transcendental and Utopian view of life and its business. In the *Gorgias* p. 480. A, where his spokesman Socrates *seems* to be quite serious, he tells us that rhetoric is entirely valueless as an instrument of self-defence<sup>2</sup>: for if a man has committed any kind of wrong, his object should be, not to endeavour to escape the penalty for his offence, but, to fly at once to justice and human tribunals, which are (or ought to be) instituted for this very purpose of correction and punishment; and so apply them to the use for which they were designed, the remedy of injustice and of evil: for the real danger to the wrong-

<sup>1</sup> Very similar is the description given by K. O. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* c. xxxii. § 4. of *Gorgias*' theory and practice of rhetoric, which might I think be extended with truth to all the earlier disciples of the school. Upon the morality and the moral effects of this system his strictures are as severe as anything to be found in Plato.

<sup>2</sup> This passage by the way compared with that quoted above from Xenophon, *Mem.* II. 9, may help to enable us to

estimate the difference between the Platonic Socrates and the real man: the opinions expressed in the two authors are diametrically opposed to one another. Otherwise, in a popular and practical dialogue like the *Gorgias*, one might have supposed that Plato would have attributed to Socrates the sentiments which he really held, if not the words and illustrations which he used—as indeed in some cases he has in fact done.

doer is, not that his offence should be found out and meet with its due punishment, but that the evil should become inveterate (ἐγχαρμισθέν), and the ulcer of injustice scarred over with a fair outside so deep-seated in his soul as to be incurable: that therefore if rhetoric is to be used at all for accusation or defence, it should be employed by the criminal in the accusation first and foremost of himself, and next of his parents friends children and country, if he knows them to be guilty, in order to bring the guilt to light, and make it appear in its true colours, and so on. Still it remains none the less true that Plato *does* point out most frequently and emphatically the trivial and immoral character of the precepts and practice of rhetoric in his own time, and this is the only use we shall make of his authority.

Upon Plato's ill opinion of rhetoric Bacon (Adv. of Learning, B. II. Vol. II. 210. Montagu's Ed.) thus pronounces. "And therefore it was a great injustice in Plato, *though springing out of a just hatred of the rhetoricians of his time*, to esteem of rhetoric but as a voluptuary art, resembling it to cookery (alluding to the Gorgias), that did mar wholesome meats, and help unwholesome by variety of sauces to the pleasure of the taste;" from which he proceeds to set the matter in its true light. Plato's contempt and aversion for rhetoric may certainly have been carried too far; he may have overlooked the intellectual and social benefits which might have been derived from a scientific treatment of it when its object was properly understood; and an honest practice of it for the vindication of truth and right and confuting of falsehood and error, the overcoming of unjust prepossessions, the defence of innocence, the recommendation of virtue and goodness: but Lord Bacon himself allows—all that I am disposed to contend for—that his dislike was fully justified by the existing systems and practice of the art, and by the character of its preceding and contemporary professors.

So likewise does Quintilian; whose view however of Plato's opinion of the art as expressed in the Gorgias and Phædrus is somewhat singular. He seems to have been so blinded by admiration for his favourite pursuit that he was unable to conceive the possibility of any one else, and especially a man like Plato, entertaining any other feeling on the subject. It is therefore according to him "a most gross mistake" to suppose that Plato meant seriously to call it 'non artem, sed peritiam quandam gratiæ et voluptatis,' a mere knack and a sham, the copy of a



portion of civil science, a kind of adulation, and so on. Inst. Orat. II. xv. 24, 5. We must be careful, he says, to make a distinction between the 'elenctic' dialogues, which have a polemical object (*qui contra disputant*) and the dogmatic, which are written to convey instruction, § 26. (he neglects however to inform us in which of his 'dogmatic' works Plato speaks well of the art). "Socrates," he continues, "or Plato [the latter, let us say] *did* think rhetoric, as it was practised in his time, such as he described . . . but at the same time he admits that there is such a thing as a genuine and honourable art of it: accordingly the discussion with Gorgias concludes thus, οὐκοῦν ἀνάγκη τὸν ῥητορικὸν δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ δίκαιον βούλεσθαι δίκαιον πράττειν." And thus the very sentence which reduces Gorgias to silence, and which in reality is meant for a *reductio ad absurdum* of the position he had laid down, is interpreted by the simple-minded Quintilian as a recognition of his own principle, that to be a good speaker a man must be a model of perfect virtue. And to the same effect is the criticism which follows § 28—31 upon the Gorgias and Phædrus.

We must therefore turn to Aristotle, since Plato fails us, for an account of the true definition object and limits of the art, he being the first writer who discussed the subject scientifically in all its branches, pointing out its extent, the relations of its various parts to each other and the whole, and separating it by a line of demarcation, far more accurate than had hitherto been drawn, from the other divisions of the field of science, logic, ethics, politics<sup>1</sup>, legislation, &c.: in fact it seems that since his time little or no alteration has taken place in the views entertained of its object and general principles: only its limits have been somewhat narrowed by restricting it to the art of speaking, and withdrawing prose composition in general and the kindred sciences from its sphere. As Aristotle's intention was not, like that of Plato, to ridicule and discourage the practice of rhetoric, but to give it a right direction and a scientific character, he does not confine himself to mere demolition, but reconstructs with the materials of the building he has destroyed a fairer edifice on a better foundation.

He is however in his own grave way almost as severe on the earlier rhetoricians as Plato himself. He opens his treatise on

<sup>1</sup> See Rhet. I. 2. p. 6, 19 sq., where it is distinguished from ethics and politics, and shown to be a part of logic.

Plato had treated it in close connexion with the two former, and identified the true rhetoric with his dialectical method.

rhetoric with a complaint of the insufficient and unscientific character of the preceding "arts of rhetoric<sup>1</sup>." He says that, overlooking the fact that rhetoric is merely a branch of logic, these works contained nothing about modes of proof or methods of reasoning, which is the only scientific part of it, but dwelt chiefly upon mere accessories and things foreign to the subject, *ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος*; amongst these he reckons all appeals to the passions and feelings<sup>2</sup>—referring no doubt amongst other arts to the *ἐλεοὶ* of Thrasymachus, mentioned Rhet. III. 1, 7. Comp. Phædr. 267. c—and goes on to express his approbation of the practice of the Court of Areopagus, where such appeals were not allowed: "for" says he "people have no business to *distort* a judge by exciting in him anger or jealousy or compassion, for that is much as if a man were to make the rule he is about to use crooked." And a little further on he brings a similar charge against those—still referring to the preceding authors of rhetorical treatises—who discuss in their works what ought to be the contents of the *proœmium* and the narrative (*διήγησις*, statement of the case) and so forth; and for the same reason, that their object is merely to put the judge in this or that state of mind, instead of examining the kind of arguments which will produce conviction, the only legitimate object of the art. The next passage, which conveys a strong implied censure of their practice, I must give as nearly as I can in the author's own words. "And for this reason although the method to be followed in civil<sup>3</sup> (parliamentary) and forensic oratory is the same, and

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle in this passage adds *τῶν λόγων* to define the kinds of arts he is speaking of; but such was the estimation in which rhetoric was held, from the causes before explained, that its professors arrogated to it the title of "the Art" par excellence, to mark its superiority to all others; and *τέχνη* is often used alone to express this pre-eminent art, in much the same way as booksellers and publishers have dignified their particular calling with the name of "the trade;" and hence Aristotle called the compilation in which he gave a history of rhetoric down to his own time *συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν*. Moreover Corax's *τέχνη* seems to have been "the first theoretical book on any branch of art." Mull. H. Gr. Lit. XXXII. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See on the same subject, Rhet. III. 1. 5, 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle here refers to the three kinds of rhetoric, as they were distinguished by the ancient writers, viz. *δημηγορικὸν* or *συμβουλευτικὸν γένος*, public speaking in deliberative assemblies; *δικανικὸν* or *δικαστικὸν*, forensic; and *ἐπιδεικτικὸν*; the last of which is here omitted: it is supplied Rhet. III. 13. These correspond to the Latin *judicium* (i. e. *oratio forensis*), *deliberatio*, *laudatio*, or *exornatio*. Cic. Top. § 91. Or. Part. § 10; otherwise *deliberativum*, *judiciale*, *demonstrativum* genus. Cic. de Inv. I. § 7. cf. ad Herenn. I. § 2. To the third class, *ἐπίδειξεις*, "declamations," show-speeches, belong *λόγοι πανηγυρικοί*, funeral orations, and panegyrical harangues

although the pursuit of public speaking is more honourable and more worthy of a citizen than that which turns upon private dealings, about the former they are absolutely silent; but all of them attempt to construct their systems with an eye to the law-courts<sup>1</sup>, because dwelling on things beside the subject is less serviceable in addressing assemblies, and because there is less room for fraud and trickery (*ἡττόν ἐστι κακοῦργον*) in public than in judicial oratory, the former being more popular<sup>2</sup>."

In the last chapter of the *de Soph. Elench.* we find again the

in the modern sense of the term, otherwise called *ἔπαινοι*, of which Isocrates' *Helen* is an example. This was a favourite style of composition with the Sophists: and indeed the entire *ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος* belonged to them exclusively. *Cic. Orat.* II. 37. In this passage Cicero comprises under the term *ἐπιδείξεις*, *laudationes* *scriptiones* *historiæ* et *tales* *suationes* *qualem* *fecit* *Isocrates* *Panegyricum*. He commends them as a useful instrument in the education of an orator, *est enim quasi nutrix ejus oratoris quem informare volumus*; which was no doubt the reason why this branch was so much cultivated by the Sophists. After exhausting gods goddesses and heroes, they sometimes descended to very trivial subjects of panegyric. Gorgias wrote a collection of such laudations with their corresponding vituperationes for the use of his school; *quod judicaret hoc oratoris esse maxime proprium, rem augere posse laudando, vituperando rursus affligere*. *Cic. Brut.* XII. § 47, and seems to have been one of the most distinguished composers of *ἐπιδείξεις* generally. Polycrates also, who was somewhat senior to Isocrates, had a reputation for the composition of these *ἔπαινοι*. One in praise of mice is referred to by Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 24. *οἷον δ' λέγει Πολυκράτης εἰς τοὺς μῦς ὅτι ἐβοήθησαν διατραγόντες τὰς νευρὰς* (the enemy's bowstrings). The rhetorician Menander (Spengel, p. 75) mentions two other *ἔπαινοι* of the same author; one in commendation of Pots, *χύτραι*; the other of counters, *ψήφοι*. An encomium upon salt, *ἄλας*, is spoken of by Plato, *Symp.* 177. B, but the author is

not named: and the same is referred to, together with another upon humble bees, *βομβυλίοι*, by Isocrates, *Helen*, § 12. We found another panegyric of this kind by Lycophron upon the lyre in Alexander's commentary on *Arist. de Soph. El.*, quoted above, p. 141. How these *ἐπιδείξεις* were stuffed and swelled out with extraneous matter, may be seen in *Arist. Rhet.* III. 17, p. 146. Those that we have named were most probably mere jeux d'esprit or burlesques in prose, similar to the *Βατραχομομαχία* in verse.

<sup>1</sup> This same charge, of which the reason is here given, that the Sophists cultivated the forensic branch of rhetoric, to the exclusion of the nobler kind, is also implied in *Rhet.* III. 13, where Aristotle remarks, that the ordinary divisions of a speech, in which the *διήγησις* or statement of the case played a principal part, are ridiculous, because that can belong to only one of the three kinds of oratory. The same complaint is made by Plato, *Phædr.* 261. B, and echoed by Isocrates *κατὰ τῶν Σοφ.* § 19 (Spengel, p. 14).

<sup>2</sup> 'Popular,' i. e. more within the reach of ordinary apprehension, and therefore giving less opportunity for deception. This is Victorius' explanation of *κοινότερον*. It may also mean "of more common interest," for it is followed by the words, *ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ ὁ κριτής περὶ οἰκείων κρίνει*, whereas *ἐν τοῖς δίκαιοις περὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἡ κρίσις*. However there is just the same ambiguity in *οἰκείος* as in *κοινός*; and the former may mean "homely, familiar," as well as "things of their own."



same complaint of the very small progress made in the art by its earliest cultivators; only, in consequence of the great number of small contributions which it had received, it had gradually grown into the magnitude and importance which it had attained in his time. The system of teaching in the rhetorical schools was altogether unscientific, though the pupils seemed to make rapid progress. The practice of the rhetoricians was, like that of the *ἐριστικοί*, (the sophistical sham philosophers who puzzled over metaphysical subtleties, of which specimens have been given in the earlier part of this paper, for the sake of exercising their tongues and ingenuity, and neither "found," nor desired to find, "an end in wandering mazes lost,") to give their pupils ready made speeches, as the others did philosophical debates, to learn by heart, upon subjects which were of most ordinary occurrence in the law-courts and assemblies: "for whilst they supplied them with the results of the art, and not with the art itself, they fancied they were educating them; just as if a man were to pretend to communicate an art for saving the feet pain, and then not to teach the art of shoemaking, nor the means by which such things might be procured, but were to produce a quantity of ready made shoes of all sorts: for the fellow has no doubt been of service in supplying a want, but has communicated no art at all<sup>1</sup>." However it must be admitted that the above sentences seem rather to refer to the earlier professors of the art, such as Gorgias who is singled out from the rest, than to the Sophists of his own time; for the past tense is used throughout: though

<sup>1</sup> This passage is thus noticed by Bacon, de Augm. Scient. Lib. v. c. 3. He is speaking of the collection of an apparatus for rhetorical purposes, which he says may be of two kinds, either a store of subjects of arguments and common places, quam vocamus Topicam; or a stock of ready made arguments and speeches upon the most common subjects of controversy, which he calls Promptuaria. Hæc autem posterior tanquam scientiæ pars vix dici meretur; cum in diligentia potius consistat; quam in eruditione aliqua artificiosa. Verumtamen hac in parte Aristoteles, ingeniose quidem, sed tamen damnose, sophistas sui temporis deridet, inquiens.—Then

follows a short paraphrase of Aristotle's illustration—Attamen, he continues, hic regerere liceat; calcearium, si in officina nil calceorum haberet, neque eos consueret nisi rogatus, egenum prorsus mansurum et perpaucos inventurum emptores. This is of course perfectly true, and the Sophists were well aware of it; and took care consequently always to have a sufficient display of ready made goods in their windows to attract customers. But it is no "retort" upon Aristotle, who only says, what Bacon himself admits (hæc autem posterior tanquam scientiæ pars vix dici meretur) that this is no *art* of rhetoric, and is a most insufficient instrument of education.

Bacon in the passage of the *de Augmentis* quoted in the note takes a different view—unless indeed he supposed Gorgias to be one of Aristotle's contemporaries, which is not impossible.

The mode of writing cultivated by the early rhetoricians, more especially the Sicilians and their imitators, whose aim was *εὐερεία* or "fine speaking," is much criticised by Aristotle in the third book of the *Rhetoric*, which is in great part occupied with an enquiry into the style and language best fitted for prose composition, and their works furnish him with most of his examples of faults of style; and we have sufficient specimens and imitations remaining of Gorgias' writings, and sufficient notices of the rest, his contemporaries and immediate followers, the rules they laid down for the guidance of composers, the figures and artifices they invented, and the various ornaments with which they tricked out their speeches, to enable us to judge of its elaborate affectation, its gaudy finery, and its stiff grotesque awkwardness. Their influence is but too perceptible in the speeches of Thucydides. To them seems to be attributable the constant straining after antithesis, not seldom false, obtrusive distinctions of equivalent terms, and the rhythmical artifices which the Sophists had just brought into fashion, to which simplicity, perspicuity, and real force are too often sacrificed<sup>1</sup>.

However the charm which novelty alone had thrown over this most cumbrous and artificial of styles—more resembling those specimens of perverted ingenuity which the natives of the East seem to mistake for true eloquence<sup>2</sup> than any growth of European

<sup>1</sup> See further on this subject, K. O. Müller, *Hist. Gr. Lit.* ch. XXXIV. §§ 10, 11, and the instances there cited, to which many more might be added. Spengel *Art. Script.* p. 54, traces the influence of Prodicus, and his discrimination of words nearly synonymous, in a long list of instances collected from various speeches of Thucydides, of which several however are by no means in point.

<sup>2</sup> The Makamat of Hariri, as they are represented in the ingenious translation of Professor Preston, seem to possess in a still higher degree all the graces of style which distinguished the

compositions of Gorgias and his imitators (see the fragment of a funeral oration of Gorgias, Spengel *Art. Scr.* p. 78, and Clinton *Fest. Hell.* ii. 378 not., and Agathon's imitation at the end of his speech in Plato's *Symposium*): for, to say nothing of the perpetual antitheses the recondite metaphors and other choice flowers of rhetoric with which they are studded in the richest profusion, in them, *all* the sentences are of equal length (*ισόκωλα*), and *all* of them have rhyming terminations (*δμοιοτελευτα*): and the effect upon the reader is much the same as that which must

soil—soon wore off, and Attic good taste speedily reasserted its dominion: so that, although in the time of Aristotle (Rhet. III. 1) the ignorant vulgar still thought these endless antitheses and balanced clauses and rhyming terminations very fine, they had even then lost all their attraction for people of sense and education; and when Diodorus wrote (XII. 53, quoted by Spengel, p. 64) they were universally looked upon as affected and ridiculous, περιεργίαν ἔχειν δοκεῖ καὶ φαίνεται καταγελαστόν. Dionysius thought Gorgias' style extravagant and childish. ἐκπύπτοντα τοῦ μετρίου καὶ παιδαριώδη de Is. Jud. p. 365; and in another place, de Lys. Jud. p. 458, speaks of his composition as absolute claptrap and inflated to excess, πᾶν φορτικόν τε καὶ ὑπέρογκον; and sometimes approaching to dithyramb (the wildest and most extravagant kind of lyric poetry). Spengel, p. 71. Ritter and Preller, Hist. Phil. § 189.

The definition which the Sophists adopted of the art, conveying as it did their views of its end and aim, was very much criticised, and by non-professional persons very generally condemned; though from the extraordinary number of attempts enumerated by Quintilian, Inst. Orat. II. 15, it seems to have been far from easy to establish a satisfactory one in its place. The question of the definition of rhetoric introduces moral considerations; as the end is, so will the practice be; if rhetoric be 'the art of persuasion,' as the Sophists without any limitation or qualification defined it, and that be the sole end at which the practitioner is to aim, in order to attain it truth may be kept back or disguised, the passions roused and inflamed, ignorance misled, the ends of justice defeated, and the triumph of the art will be to make fraud and wrong prevail, τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. And this in fact was the use that *was* made of it.

"The art of persuasion" was the definition given of Rhetoric

have been produced by the perusal of one of Gorgias' most elaborate compositions, the same mixture of wonder at the art displayed, and compassion for the waste of so much time labour and ingenuity, as one feels at the sight of one of those marvellous Chinese puzzles, seventeen detached spheres, one within the other, cut out of a single piece of ivory, or the Dresden collection of jewellery, or one

of Benvenuto Cellini's most skilful and laboured productions in silver and gold and precious stones and enamel, or the Creed and Lord's Prayer and ten Commandments and hundred and nineteenth Psalm written with Indian ink and a crowquill in the folds of George the Third's cauliflower wig, and legible only by the aid of a microscope.



by its earliest professors. A summary of the description of its object, extracted from the τέχναι of the soi-disant scientific writers on the art, οἱ περὶ τοὺς λόγους τεχνικοί προσποιούμενοι εἶναι, is given by Plato Phædr. 272. D; and amongst them, a little further on 273. A, "the great Tisias himself" is particularly mentioned: "according to them" he says, "a man who means to be a competent rhetorician need not concern himself at all about truth in things just or good, or men who are such either by nature or education. For in the courts of law people care absolutely nothing about the truth of them, but only about what is plausible (τοῦ πιθανοῦ); and this is, the probable (τὸ εἰκός), which every one who means to speak by rule of art must attend to. For sometimes not even the facts are to be mentioned, unless they have probability in their favour, but only what is likely, in accusation and defence: and in general a speaker must pursue probability and bid good bye for ever to the truth. For the application of this rule to the whole speech constitutes the entire art." And "a wonderfully recondite art too," δεινῶς ἀποκεκρυμμένη τέχνη, as he adds, Ib. 273. C. Similarly Aristotle says of Corax in a passage hereafter to be more particularly referred to, Rhet. II. 24. sub fin. ἔστι δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τύπου (τοῦ εἰκότος) ἡ Κόρακος τέχνη συγκειμένη. And this τύπος of "the probable" continued for a long time a prime favourite with the "manufacturers of persuasion," πειθοῦς δημιουργοί.

The definition of these two originators of the art was adopted by Tisias' pupil Gorgias; Plat. Gorg. 453. A. καὶ εἴ τι ἐγὼ συνήμι λέγεις ὅτι πειθοῦς δημιουργός ἐστιν ἡ ῥητορικὴ, καὶ ἡ πραγματεία αὐτῆς ἅπασα καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον εἰς τοῦτο τελευτᾷ. which the professor is afterwards by the gentle compulsion of the Socratic cross-examination induced to modify thus, 465. A, πειθοῦς δημιουργός ἐστι πιστευτικῆς ἀλλ' οὐ διδασκαλικῆς περὶ τὸ δίκαιόν τε καὶ ἄδικον—which in a moral point of view does not very much mend the matter. To the former passage Quintilian alludes, Inst. Orat. II. 15. 18. Gorgias apud Platonem persuadendi se artificem in judiciis et aliis cœtibus esse ait; de justis quoque et injustis tractare.

In what form of words Protagoras expressed his notion of the object of his art we need not trouble ourselves to enquire. The man who professed τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν (Arist. Rhet. II. 24. τὸ Πρωταγόρου ἐπάγγελμα), whatever his theoretical views might be, was not very likely to be deterred by any scruples of conscience

from employing the full powers of his mind and tongue in persuading an audience out of their reason and senses, against truth and justice, to acquit the guilty or condemn the innocent; to mistake wrong for right and right for wrong; "to call darkness light and light darkness, to put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter;" in teaching his pupils and customers how to impose on the ignorant and unwary, to elude a deserved punishment, to shift an accusation from themselves to another, to lay traps for the incautious, lend to falsehood the appearance of truth—and all the other honest and amiable uses to which rhetoric may be applied; arts which Anaximenes expounds in his invaluable treatise, the *Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον*, and which Spengel, carried away by a natural enthusiasm for his subject, observes, "are not only useful but *necessary* to an orator; and such also was the beginning of the art, as we have seen before in the case of Corax," p. 188.

This definition prevailed at least down to the time of Isocrates, the most finished production of the school of sophistical rhetoricians, who according to Quintilian, II. 15. 4, "originated it,"—a careless remark, all the more inexcusable as he goes on to tell us in the very next section that Gorgias in Plato says nearly the same thing. Quintilian refers to Isocrates' *τέχνη*; adding, *si tamen revera Ars quæ circumfertur ejus est*. The passage is given by Sext. Empir. adv. Math. II. 62. (quoted by Benseler, Isocr. II. 276) *Ἰσοκράτης φησὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐπιτηδεύειν τοὺς ῥήτορας ἢ ἐπιστήμην περὶ τοῦτο*.

Of course exception was soon taken to this view of the definition, uses, and practice, of Rhetoric; and at the commencement of his own treatise Aristotle is obliged to enter into a defence of the art and to point out its legitimate application and sphere. The greater part of his work is occupied with a detailed and subtle analysis of the grounds of conviction, and the kind of arguments which are adapted to tell on a particular audience: rhetorical proof being, he says, of three kinds, one in the character of the speaker, i. e. in giving the audience a favourable impression of his own character and intentions, the second in inducing a certain state of feeling in the judges or audience; and the third and far the most important, in the speech itself, the proving or seeming to prove your case: and hence (Rhet. I. 1. p. 3, 15. I. 2. p. 6, 19, 25) as the only scientific treatment of rhetoric

turns upon the means of conviction, and therefore upon demonstration, ἀποδείξεις, it follows that rhetoric properly understood is only a subordinate branch of logic. The author is obliged to add 'seeming to prove' under the third head, because he takes into consideration the sophistical abuse of the art; just as in his treatise on logic he adds an examination of the σοφιστικοὶ ἐλεγχοί. It is the analysis of this third kind of proof—the only one properly so called<sup>1</sup>, though his predecessors had entirely omitted it—which gave his own work its chief novelty and value. The Sophists in their "arts" had dealt almost exclusively with forensic speaking to the exclusion of the deliberative kind (Rhet. i. 1. p. 3, 3), and in treating of it had dwelt solely upon the technical divisions of a speech, the προοίμιον, ἐπίλογος, διήγησις, and so on; upon the art of putting the judge in a good humour with the speaker and in a bad one with the adversary, which was the main subject of Thrasymachus' ἑλεοί; upon style and delivery, and such like unessentials, τὰ ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος.

Having explained wherein the difference lay between his own method of treating the art and that of his sophistical predecessors, he proceeds to vindicate its utility and lawfulness against the prejudices to which their unscientific and unscrupulous employment of it had rendered it liable. "It is beneficial," he says, (Rhet. i. 1. p. 4. 1) "because truth and justice have a natural superiority (advantage) over their opposites, and therefore if the issues of trials are ever wrong (if wrong decisions are ever given) they (the parties that have truth and justice on their side) must needs be defeated by their own fault<sup>2</sup>; and this deserves reprehension." Besides, some people are beyond the reach of 'instruction,' even if one had the fullest and most exact knowledge,

<sup>1</sup> In chap. II. of the first book he says further, that there are two kinds of proof, the scientific (ἐντεχνης) and the unscientific (ἀτεχνης). The latter are those which are independent of ourselves, evidence, torture, documents, and so forth; the former kind consists of those which may be established by a scientific procedure according to the rules of art.

<sup>2</sup> δι' αὐτῶν. Victorius explains the pronoun by κρισεων, others by τῶν ἐναντιῶν; but then ὡστε has no meaning.

αὐτῶν is put for the reflexive αὐτῶν, a not uncommon interchange of the pronouns in this author: see Waitz on Anal. Prior. 55. a. 14, and the instances there collected. The meaning divested of its Aristotelian obscurity is simply this, that the use of rhetoric enables truth and justice to assert their natural superiority; if a man with them on his side loses his cause, it is his own fault for neglecting such an instrument; and herein appears the value and advantage of rhetoric.



and must be wrought upon by a more popular method—"and further, one ought to know how to prove both sides of a question—not for the purpose of putting it in practice, for we have no right to induce men to believe what is wrong—but in order that we may know how the case really stands, and if another employs his arguments unfairly, may be able on our side to expose the fallacy." "Moreover it's very odd if it is a disgrace to one not to be able to defend oneself with one's body, and no disgrace (not to be able to do so) with speech; a thing more peculiar to man than the uses of his body. But if (it be objected) that great mischief may be done by the unfair use of such a power of words, *this* is common to all good things except virtue, and most of all to the most useful, as for example strength, health, wealth, generalship: for by the legitimate use of all these the greatest service may be done, and the greatest harm by the contrary." So much for the defence of the art; which makes the true use and advantage of its practice depend entirely upon the *προαίρεσις*, the will of the practitioner; wherein lies the distinction as he goes on to say between the Sophist and an honest reasoner. And of course the *γλῶσσα τεθηγμένη* of the expert rhetorician, like any other dangerous and double-edged weapon, is especially liable to be abused or misapplied; but it does not therefore follow that the manufacture of arms or of cutlery is a dishonourable employment, although you may stab your friend with a dagger or cut your own fingers with a sharp carving-knife.

Whately (Rhetoric. Introd.) uses precisely the same arguments in defence of Rhetoric as Aristotle in the passage above quoted. Gorgias too, in the Platonic dialogue of that name, 456. D, seq. is made to point out in the same way the unfairness of arguing from the use to the abuse of the art. Plato, whose principal object in this part of the dialogue seems to be to involve the Professor in a contradiction, which he effects with the aid of the Socratic doctrine that virtue is nothing but knowledge (see p. 460. B), takes no further notice of this distinction, and rests his argument for the worthlessness of rhetoric upon an entirely different ground; and strangely enough overlooking the possibility of an unjust charge being brought against an innocent man, argues that one who employs rhetoric as it is commonly used

to avert the legal consequences of any crime he may have committed, is guilty of folly greater, in proportion as vice the disease of the soul is more noxious and deadly than any disease of the body, than that of the man who conceals a wound or bodily ailment instead of applying to a physician for a remedy. See above p. 154. And in fact, in such a state of society as he imagined for his Utopian republic, where the supreme power of the state was to be lodged in the hands of men consummately wise and just, and the other members of the body politic were to be perfectly obedient, there certainly would have been no room for such an art as rhetoric. Rhetoric may be employed in aid of truth, but cannot discover it; it may help to correct injustice and wrong, but cannot make men just and good. It is a 'flattering' art, which tickles men's ears and stimulates and impresses their imaginations; and in a model Republic, where every one is intent upon his own business and from which poetry and amusements are rigorously excluded; in which men might be no doubt perfectly virtuous, but would most certainly be particularly dull; a society from which by the way Plato's own dramatic sketches would have been banished with the other 'imitative' 'arts of flattery;' in a model republic—and in that alone—will the power of words be despised, and the art (if there be one) which confers that power held as valueless.

Aristotle nevertheless rejects the sophistical definition of rhetoric, and adopts one which rather leaves out of sight the practice of the art, and brings more into view the scientific method of treating it as a system: οὐ τὸ πείσαι ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πιθανὰ περὶ ἕκαστον καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τέχναις πάσαις. And again, *Rhet.* I. 2, init. ἔστω δὲ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν. He does not however condemn it on moral grounds, but only because success, that is in the present case conviction, is not essential to the notion of art: as a man is a physician when he proceeds *secundum artem*, though his patients may choose to die *secundum naturam*; for a patient may be obstinate, and resist artistic treatment, just as an audience may be too stupid or too pigheaded to admire eloquence, or see a joke, or listen to reason; or, as Napoleon was a general (this illustration is not Aristotle's) though he lost Waterloo. Οὐτε γὰρ ὁ ῥητορικὸς, he says in another place, ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πείσει, οὐθ'

ὁ ἰατρικὸς ὑγιάσει· ἀλλ' ἐὰν πῶν ἐνδεχομένων μηδὲν παραλίπη, ἱκανῶς αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιστήμην φήσομεν. Topic. I. 2.

Quintilian criticises Aristotle's definition in these terms, Inst. Orat. II. 15, 13, Quidam recesserunt ab eventu (*i. e.* hold that success is not necessary to make an artist) sicut Aristoteles, qui dicit: rhetorici est vis inveniendi omnia in oratione persuasibilia. Qui finis et illud vitium de quo supra diximus [§ 11, persuadent enim dicendo, vel ducunt in id quod volunt, alii quoque, ut meretrices, adulatores, corruptores] habet, et insuper quod nihil nisi inventionem complectitur, quæ sine elocutione non est oratio. Quintilian's own definition is, bene dicendi scientia: nam et orationis omnes virtutes semel complectitur, et protinus mores etiam oratoris; quum bene dicere non possit nisi vir bonus. Ib. § 34, comp. § 38. Whately's seems to be, for it is not precisely stated, "the art of proving," ("To prove is the proper office of the advocate," Rhet. Introd.) which seems open to the same objection as that which Quintilian brings against Aristotle's; and to this in addition, that it makes no distinction between rhetoric and logic.

"The duty and office of Rhetoric," says Bacon, "is to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will. For we see reason is disturbed in the administration thereof by three means; by illaqueation or sophism, which pertains to logic; by imagination or impression, which pertains to rhetoric; and by passion or affection, which pertains to morality. And as in negotiation with others, men are wrought by cunning, by importunity, and by vehemency; so in this negotiation within ourselves men are undermined by inconsequences, solicited and importuned by impressions or observations, and transported by passions. Neither is the nature of man so unfortunately built, as that those powers and arts should have force to disturb reason, and not to establish and advance it: for the end of logic is to teach a form of argument to secure reason, and not to intrap it; the end of morality is to procure the affections to obey reason, and not to invade it; the end of Rhetoric is to fill the imagination to second reason and not to oppress it: for these abuses of arts come in but 'ex obliquo,' for caution." Adv. of Learning, Book 2, Vol. II. p. 209 (Montagu's Ed.).

In respect of the practice of the art, the great advocate,



Cicero, was of opinion that although it was a heinous crime in a pleader to employ his rhetorical skill in procuring the condemnation of the innocent, "for what can be so barbarous as to apply that eloquence which is given by nature for the weal and preservation of mankind to the injury and destruction of the good?" yet in defending the guilty, provided only his client was not an utterly abandoned wretch, *modo ne nefarium impiumque* (he does not tell us where the line was to be drawn) he might stretch a point; nay, he was bound to do so, for "the multitude wills this, custom sanctions it, humanity requires it." "It is the judge's duty in a cause always to aim at the truth; an advocate may sometimes in his defence urge what is probable, even though it be not exactly true: a rule which I should not venture to lay down, (he adds) especially in a philosophical treatise, were it not also the opinion of that most respectable Stoic Panætius." *de Off. ii. 14.* The practice recommended by such high authority still prevails in our courts of law; the verisimile (that is, in modern phrase, throwing dust in the eyes of a jury) rather than the verum being to all appearance the aim of the modern advocate. Whether any attorney-general of recent times, taking a liberal and enlightened view of the interests of society in general, and more especially of his own, or carried away by professional zeal and enthusiasm, has ever stepped beyond the exact line of his duties and fallen into that oratorical "crime" which is reprobated by Cicero, and unsupported by the authority of any Stoic whatever, we need not here enquire: but the example of Mr Charles Philips, as well as others less eminent but of daily occurrence, shows us how far the advocate's more enlarged and advanced notions of social duty may triumph over the ordinary rules of morality, and that, "in defence of the guilty" at least, the modern pleader is not a whit behind his classical prototype, but is ready to carry his preference for the verisimile to the verum to as great a length as Cicero or the most respectable Stoic could have desired.

Montaigne, who altogether disapproves of the art, thinks that "*ceulx qui masquent et fardent les femmes font moins de mal; car c'est chose de peu de perte de ne les veoir pas en leur naturel: là où ceulx cy font estat de tromper, non pas nos yeulx, mais notre jugement, et d'abastardir et corrompre l'essence*"

des choses." He therefore selects from Quintilian's list the definition which expresses most contempt at once for the art and the common people. "Ariston definit sagement la rhetorique 'science à persuader le peuple.' Socrates, Platon 'Art de tromper et de flatter,' et ceulx qui le nient en la generale description, le verifient par tout en leurs preceptes." Livre I. ch. 51.

E. M. COPE.

(To be continued.)

## II.

### *On the probable Connexion of the Rhætians and Etruscans with the Thracian stock of nations.*

*Continued from p. 20.*

IN the argument from language, which has just been concluded, as well as in that from geography, we have endeavoured to trace the affinities of the Etruscans indirectly through the Rhætians. We have now to consider what we know of the Etruscans themselves, to examine their national character, their manners, customs, and pursuits, and to enquire into the traditional account of their origin; an investigation from which we shall derive additional grounds for supposing that they had at least a remote affinity to the Thracians, and indeed, in some respects, an affinity of considerable closeness to the Asiatic Thracians, especially to the Phrygians and the Lydians.

Some of the points of resemblance between these two races are pointed out in Cramer's *Italy*<sup>1</sup>, (Vol. I. p. 152,) in connexion

<sup>1</sup> 'It is remarked, that divination and augury, which form so leading a distinction in the religion of Etruria, took their rise in Caria, according to Pliny (VII. 56), and we hear frequently in Herodotus of the diviners of Telmisus, as having exercised their art at a very remote period. The superstitions of Phrygia are also frequently observable on the monuments of Etruria.

The insignia of royalty, such as the curule chair and the purple robe, which the Romans borrowed from the Tuscans, are recognized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself as Lydian badges of honour (III. 61); and the eagle standards of Rome, also originally Tuscan, appear to have been common to the armies of Persia (Xen. *Anab.* I. 10).

The comic dancers of Etruria, called

with the question of the supposed Lydian origin of the Etruscans, a subject which we shall afterwards consider more at length. It will be sufficient for the present, in connexion with the story of the Lydian migration, to state the opinion now generally entertained, and supported by Niebuhr and Müller; an opinion, however, which may perhaps be open to objection, notwithstanding the high authority by which it is recommended. According to this theory, the story is a myth, of which indeed there can be but little doubt; and this myth finds its solution, not, as might be expected, in the ethnical affinity of the Etruscans and Lydians, but in that of the ancient Pelasgic inhabitants, or Tyrrheni, of Etruria, and of the Tyrsenian Pelasgians of the coasts of the Ægean<sup>1</sup>. Yet why the Lydians should be particularly chosen to represent the Tyrsenians, no satisfactory reason can be given.

It can hardly fail to be discerned by the readers of ancient history, and that not only as a fact remarkable in itself, but as bearing upon the question of the affinity of the Thracians and the Etruscans, that what the Thracians, and especially the Asiatic

Ludii, were celebrated for their agility and grace, and, according to Val. Maximus (II. 4), who mentions their introduction at Rome, they derived this talent from the Curetes and Lydians (cf. Liv. VII. 2). Lastly, it is singular enough that two customs peculiar to the Etruscans, as we discover from their monuments, should have been noticed by Herodotus as characteristic of the Lycians and Caunians in Asia Minor. The first is, that the Etruscans invariably describe their parentage and family with reference to the mother and not the father (Her. I. 173. Nic. Damasc. *ap. Stob.* p. 292). The other, that they admitted their wives to their feasts and banquets (Herod. I. 172. Arist. *ap. Athen.* I. p. 23). These are all the points of similarity which I have been able to trace or collect from the observation of others; and though they tend perhaps to establish a notion of a communication between Asia Minor and Etruria, I am far from thinking that they make out a case in favour of Lydia; for if they prove anything, it is

that the Carians, Lycians, and Phrygians, have as good a claim to the honour of colonizing Italy, as their neighbours the Lydians.'

<sup>1</sup> 'The tradition in Herodotus is a genealogy intended to explain how it happened that Lydians existed in Italy as well as in Lydia.' Niebuhr's *Lectures on Roman History* (ed. Schmitz), p. 73. 'Herodotus had heard that Tyrrhenians existed in Italy as well as in Lydia (where, however, the Mæonians, and not the entirely foreign Lydians, were Tyrrhenians); his idea of a colony was a mere inference from his knowledge that the Tyrrhenians and Mæonians were nations of the same race.' Niebuhr's *Lectures on Ethnography* (ed. Schmitz), II. 211. This, however, seems going much too far. We can hardly imagine that Herodotus was so deficient in good faith as to invent the fable of Lydus and Tyrrhenus. The story would probably have been a tradition which was communicated to him, and which he correctly reported.



Thracians, were to the Greeks, that, in a great measure, the Etruscans were to the Romans. The influence which the Etruscans exerted upon the Romans was similar to that which the Thracians exerted upon the Greeks. It was in religion and music that this influence made itself felt. Much was borrowed by the Greeks, in these two instances, from the Asiatic Thracians<sup>1</sup>. From this circumstance, and from the accounts which have reached us of these Thracian nations themselves, we are readily led to the conclusion, that a strong religious or superstitious feeling, and a great love of music, must have been inherent in the Thracian character. In European Thrace we know that this musical tendency was as equally apparent as in Phrygia or Lydia; a fact evinced by the stories of Orpheus and Thamyras, who were both European Thracians. Indeed, it is in these two great features of the common national character, in music and in religion, that that analogy between the Phrygians and the proper Thracians is observable, which tends to strengthen the evidence of their belonging to the same family of nations<sup>2</sup>; an argument which may be employed with equal justice, and urged with almost equal force, in support of the affinity of the Thracians and Etruscans.

That the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for a large portion of their religious belief and ceremonial is a fact too well known to require anything more than a mere notice. It was also from Etruria that their music was derived. Indeed it can hardly be doubted, both from what we know of the Etruscans, and from the two forms in which their influence over the Romans was manifested, that the Etruscan character was one highly religious, as religion was then esteemed, and also keenly sensitive to the powers of music. The two prominent features of the national character were thus the same in the Thracians and in the Etruscans. It is true that some difference may be observed in the spirit of the Thracian and Etruscan religious observances. The Thracian religion seems to have been more wildly fanatical, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Phrygians and Lydians did not only modify the religious manifestations of the Asiatic Greeks, and through them of the Grecian world generally, but also rendered important aid towards the first creation of the Greek musical

scale.' Grote, III. 284.

'It thus appears that the earliest Greek music was, in a large proportion, borrowed from Phrygia and Lydia.' Grote, III. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Grote, III. 286.

the Etruscan more gloomy and mysterious, though breaking out at times, as in the war between Tarquinii and Rome, into extravagant and frantic rage. The Getæ, however, a people of Thracian race, and with whom, from their position, we should suppose the Rhætians and Etruscans to have been more immediately connected, were greatly inclined to religious mysteries. It has also been noticed above, (see note, p. 169) that some of the peculiarities of the Phrygian religion were also to be found among the Etruscans. And indeed this is what we should expect to find,—some similarity, but not perfect identity. For, as the religion of the ancients sprang chiefly from their own imagination, each people, especially one whose religious imagination was particularly active, would have gradually modified, or added to, its earlier belief. And thus we should be prepared to expect some differences in the religious observances of two nations, even if of the same race, when they dwelt remote from each other, and had been separated for centuries, as would have been the case with the Thracians and Etruscans. A religious spirit may be the general characteristic of a race, and yet in two nations of that race, having little or no intercourse with each other, possessing no common written religious system, and brought in contact with different foreign peoples, that same religious spirit may be variously directed, and exhibit itself, in some degree, under different forms<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The 'Manes' of the Romans are considered to have an Etruscan origin, and are connected by Dr Donaldson with the Etruscan word *manus* or *manis*, 'good.' There seems possibly here to be some analogy with the Phrygian. "Plutarchus de Iside et Osiride. p. 360 B. μεγάλοι μὲν ὑμνοῦνται πράξεις ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις Σεμράμιος, μεγάλοι δὲ αἱ Σεώστριος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. Φρύγες δὲ μέχρι νῦν τὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τῶν ἔργων μαρτυρῶν καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ Μάνιν τινα τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δυνατόν γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὃν ἔτι Μάσδην καλοῦσιν. gravissimus hic locus veram Ahuramazdæ etymologiam tandem indigitat. zd. mazda nihil aliud quam quod mainyu significat ac sicut sk. mastaka caput dictum a man, its arm. intellectus ab

imanal intelligere et phrygice Manis idem qui Masdes. radicem mah vel maz phrygice Jovis nomine (Μαξέδς ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυγῶν Hesych.) relinquamus, mahu formæ Manu." *Arica*, p. 37.

With the Phrygian *Manis* and *Masdes* a connexion may be suspected, both in German and Etruscan. The Phrygian *Manis* suggests not only the Etruscan *Manus* or *Manis*, but also the German *Mannus*. *Masdes*, again, calls to mind the Etruscan name *Mastarna*, and the Suevic name *Masdras*, as well as the Gothic word *mazdra*. (See Diefenbach, *Goth. Dict.* M. 21. II. 30.) We may also notice here, as favouring slightly the opinion of the Gothic or Getic affinities of the Etruscans, the similarity in formation of the names *Mastarna* and

It is, however, in music that the analogy between the Thracians and Etruscans is most strikingly manifested. The Etruscans, and the Phrygians and Lydians, had the same native instrument, the flute. In this instance the Etruscans seem to have a closer affinity to the Asiatic than to the European Thracians, whose native instrument was the lyre. Not that stringed instruments were unknown to the Etruscans, for they are found on Etruscan monuments, although they were not the instruments by the use of which the nation was particularly distinguished<sup>1</sup>. We discover also on Etruscan monuments the double flute, the invention of which was ascribed by Pliny to Marsyas the Phrygian, and the use of which would thus have been common both to the Etruscans and to the Asiatic Thracians<sup>2</sup>.

As the use of the flute, and perhaps of wind-instruments generally, passed from the Phrygians and Lydians to the Greeks<sup>3</sup>, so also did the Romans borrow in a precisely similar manner from the Etruscans<sup>4</sup>. And thus, among two nations strongly imbued with the musical spirit, and exercising, in virtue of that spirit, a powerful influence upon their neighbours, the native musical instruments seem to have been almost accurately the same. But this analogy may be carried still farther. As the Romans derived their music from the Etruscans, it might be expected that their expressions for music and musical instruments would be in some cases derived from the Etruscan language. Thus the word *nenia* or *nænia*, a dirge accompanied by the flute, the Etruscan instrument, is very probably derived from the Etruscan. But the word *νηπιον* is the name of a Phrygian melody<sup>5</sup>. The *lituus* also, 'an augur's wand,' and 'a crooked trumpet,' was

Bastarna. The Bastarnæ seems to have been a Getic or Thraco-German tribe. (See Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 322). Another Etruscan name seems to admit of being referred to the Gothic; that of the Etruscan chief, Cæles Vibenna. Its origin may perhaps be found in the Gothic *veipan*, *vipun*, 'bekränzen' 'στεφανοῦν.' We have *Vipan* still existing as a proper name: *na*, as is well known, is a common Etruscan termination for proper names of men.

<sup>1</sup> Niebuhr, *Hist. Rome*. Ed. Hare

and Thirlwall, I. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Müller, *Die Etrusker*, II. 202.

<sup>3</sup> Grote, III. 294.

<sup>4</sup> Müller, *Die Etrusker*, II. 51. 'Kleinasiens ist für Griechenland das Heimathland der Blasinstrumente, wie Etrurien für Italien.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Pollux, IV. 79. τὸ νηπιον μέλος ἔστι μὲν φρύγιον, Ἰππώναξ δ' αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει. Hesychius: νηήματος νόμος παιδαριώδης καὶ φρύγιον μέλος. *nænia* Romanorum in mentem venit et radix nulaudare.' *Arice*, pp. 37, 38.



borrowed from the Etruscans, and seems to find a parallel in the Phrygian language<sup>1</sup>.

That the Etruscan music was almost the same as the Lydian is acknowledged by Müller. The explanation he gives of the fact is, that the Tyrsenian Pelasgians of the Ægean borrowed the Lydian music, and that the Italian Tyrrheni, in whom he recognizes the same people, communicated it to the Etruscans. This explanation seems by no means satisfactory. For the Tyrrheni or Tyrseni of Italy were not only to be found in Etruria, but also in Latium, and even in Campania<sup>2</sup>. Now if we grant, according to the views of Niebuhr and Müller, that these Tyrseni were Pelasgians, and distinct from the Etruscans, and that they also brought into Italy the Lydian music; yet it should seem that they would have communicated that music directly to the Romans and Latins, and not have transmitted it through the Etruscans. If we suppose that these Tyrsenian Pelasgians were, as it appears they must have been, the people who formed the Pelasgic population of Rome and Latium, the difficulty becomes still greater. In this case they would appear as borrowing their music from the nation to which they had previously communicated it. Besides, we do not know that the Pelasgians had any particularly musical talent, or that the love of music was with them, as it was with the Etruscans, a marked feature in the

<sup>1</sup> 'Pollux iv. 54. λιτυέρσας Φρυγῶν ᾄσμα. cf. Athen. x. p. 415 B. xiv. 619 A. Hesychium et Photium s. v. σκ. ῥαῖ (pro arsi) modus musicus.' *Arice*, p. 37. If the latter part of λιτυέρσας is correctly referred to the sanskrit root, the word would seem to signify a melody on or for the lituus.

In addition to these probable cases of affinity between the languages of the Etruscans and of the Asiatic Thracians, there are also some other instances, in which words, possibly Etruscan, may be illustrated from the same Asiatic dialects. Thus the Latin *soccus*, which, as being connected with the theatre, may possibly be of Etruscan origin, has a close parallel in the Phrygian language. 'Hesychius: σόκχοι ὑποδήματα

φρύγια. *Arice*, p. 39.' We read also in early Roman history, that Ancus Marcius is said to have conquered from the Veientes a forest called the 'Mæsia Silva.' The meaning of the name of this forest, which we may take to be Etruscan, and which recalls the names of Mæsia and Mysia, both, in all probability, merely different forms of the same word, receives a possible explanation from a supposed etymology of the name Mysia. 'Strabo, xii. 8. 3. Ξάνθος ὁ λυδὸς καὶ Μενεκράτης ὁ ἐλαίτης ἐνυμολογοῦσι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τῶν Μυσῶν εἶναι τὴν δξύνην οὕτως ὀνομαζομένην οἱ Λυδοί.' *Arice*, p. 46. The tree δξύη is supposed to have been the beech; so that the 'Mæsia silva' might mean the 'beech-wood.'

<sup>2</sup> Malden, *Hist. Rome*, p. 79.

national character. It is rather difficult to believe, that neither this attachment to music among the Etruscans, nor yet the forms and instruments by which its spirit was expressed, were of native origin, but were borrowed from a people concerning whom there appears to be no evidence that they were possessed of any musical knowledge or feeling. It cannot but seem more natural to suppose, that the musical tendency which the Etruscans evinced was inherent in themselves, and that the instrument by the use of which they were particularly distinguished was also, most probably, a truly national instrument. Yet, if the music of Etruria was national and not foreign, and if the supposed intervention of the Pelasgians between the Etruscans and the Lydians be thus laid aside, one consequence seems almost inevitably to follow. The Etruscans must have had some affinity to the Asiatic Thracians<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The subject of the Tyrseni is rather obscure. The name Tyrseni, though widely and rather vaguely applied in Greece and its neighbourhood, and in Italy, seems properly to belong to the inhabitants of two districts: in the East, to the inhabitants of the northern shore of the Ægean and of some of the islands in that sea; and in Italy, to the early inhabitants, or a part of the early inhabitants, of Etruria, Latium, and Campania. In the East, the name Tyrseni is coupled with that of the Pelasgians. The Tyrseni of those parts were Tyrsenian Pelasgians. In Italy the Tyrseni or Tyrrheni, though not called Pelasgians, seem to have been, wholly or partly, of that race. For, though the name Tyrrheni is employed in history to designate the Etruscans, who were not Pelasgians, yet the people of Etruria, as distinguished from the *Rasena* or nobility, seem to have been of Pelasgian origin. Yet, though the Tyrseni were Pelasgians, it seems more than doubtful if the name itself means Pelasgians generally. It is rather an epithet applied to a particular part of the race to distinguish them from the rest. Sophocles (*Malden, Hist. Rome,*

p. 71) even appears to distinguish the Pelasgian Tyrseni from Tyrseni who were not Pelasgians; and Strabo speaks of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii* as being once possessed by Tyrrheni and Pelasgi. (*Malden, p. 79.* The author, however, supposes that Strabo's authorities only spoke of one nation here. This may be true, but we must, nevertheless, take the evidence as it stands).

The Tyrseni of the Ægean appeared also at one time in Attica. 'To some portions of the Pelasgian race, in the countries about the Ægean Sea, was given the name of Tyrseni. This name was applied especially to a migratory Pelasgian tribe, which entered Attica at a time when the population had begun to assume a distinct Hellenic character, apparently after the final settlement of the Boeotians in Boeotia, but before the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. The same name was commonly given to the Pelasgians of the islands Lemnos, and Imbros, and Scyros, and these Tyrseni were supposed to be descended from the Tyrseni of Attica.' (*Malden, p. 70*). Here, however, it has been reasonably conjectured, that the direction of migration has probably been reversed, and

We have already alluded to the well-known story of the emigration of the Etruscans from Lydia. This story is contradicted

that the Tyrseni of Attica came at first from the coasts of the Ægean, and returned, when expelled, to their original seats and kindred tribes. These Tyrseni of Attica came immediately from Bœotia, which they had overrun in company with Thracians. 'After the war of the Argives, celebrated by the poets as the expedition of the Epigoni, tribes of Thracians and Pelasgians had overrun the country and had expelled the remnant of the Cadmeans. They were expelled in their turn by the Bœotians, . . . and the Pelasgians took refuge in Attica.' (Malden, p. 77). Now these Pelasgians were Tyrseni, or Tyrsenian Pelasgians; so that we find in this case the epithet Tyrseni given to Pelasgians who were, or had been, in connexion with Thracians.

The Pelasgians of the Ægean Sea, who occupied the Northern or Thracian coast, were necessarily in connexion with Thracians. It appears also that the two races lived intermingled with each other. In the account which Thucydides gives (iv. 109) of the inhabitants of the peninsula of Athos, he observes that several towns there were inhabited by a mixture of barbarian tribes. The greater part were Pelasgians, whom the historian identifies with the Tyrseni of Attica. The other tribes with whom the Pelasgians were intermingled, were of Thracian origin, such as the Bisaltæ and Edones. Here again then, as in the case of the Tyrseni of Attica, we find the name Tyrseni given to Pelasgians associated with Thracians: a circumstance which gives rise to a conjecture that the name of Tyrsenian Pelasgians might have been given to Pelasgians who were in connexion with Thracians, perhaps even a branch of the Pelasgian race who had coalesced with them. Possibly the case of the Tyrseni might find a kind of pa-

rallel in those of the Celtiberi, the Belgæ, and the Lithuanians; or even of the English, partly Anglo-Saxons and partly Norman-French, under the Norman kings. The name Tyrseni, or Tyrrheni, is difficult to argue from, on account of its many possible affinities. It seems, however, to be more probably of Thracian than of Pelasgian origin. For, whatever may be thought of what Herodotus reports about Lydus and Tyrrhenus, the sons of Atys; yet the Tyrrhenus of that story seems to be the same as the Torybus or Torrhebus, who appears as the brother of Lydus, and the son of Atys, in what is probably a genuine Lydian tradition. (Malden, p. 72, note). We have also (Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 50), Tarsa and Turesis as the names of Thracian chiefs.

As the Tyrseni of the Ægean seem to have been Pelasgians in connexion with Thracians, so the Tyrseni or Tyrrheni of Italy seem to have been Pelasgians in connexion with Etruscans. Indeed the name Tyrrhenians belongs in history rather to the Etruscans than to the Pelasgians of Tyrrhenia. Thus, if we suppose the Etruscans to have been Thracians, and that the name Tyrseni is applied to Pelasgians in connexion with Thracians, there would be no difficulty in accounting for the presence of Tyrseni on the western coast of Italy. It would, however, probably be a rash conjecture to suppose that the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians had accompanied the Etruscans from Rhætia into Italy. Yet the Pelasgians who settled in Etruria are said in the story to have come from the north, from the neighbourhood of the mouths of the Po, a district at which they are made to arrive by a rather unnatural voyage from the coast of Epirus. (Malden, p. 72). There is also a remarkable resemblance which has been noticed, and which seems more



by Dionysius, who says that no account of any such migration is to be found in the Lydian historian Xanthus<sup>1</sup>, and that neither in their language, in the gods they worshipped, nor in their laws and manners, did the Etruscans resemble the Lydians. Yet, as the story of the emigration is almost certainly a myth, it might very likely not be found in a Lydian history. The only question which has to be determined is: What is the right meaning of the myth? Does it indicate an affinity between the Etruscans and the Lydians, or merely between the Pelasgians of the Ægean and the Pelasgians of Italy? That Dionysius expressly denies that there was any affinity between the Lydians and the Etruscans cannot be considered as conclusive. Even the assertion of a man of far higher historical qualifications than Dionysius would hardly be sufficient to establish the truth of so comprehensive a

than accidental, between the names of places in the Grisons, and also in other districts formerly comprised in Rhetia, and those of ancient towns in Etruria, Latium, and Campania,—a resemblance almost sufficient in itself to raise a suspicion that the Tyrrhenians, whether Etruscans or Pelasgians, or a people composed of both races, but perhaps without complete fusion, were at one time the inhabitants of Rhetia. The following appears to be a tolerably complete list of the resemblances: the modern names are in Italics. *Ardetz*, Ardea; *Madulein*, Medullia; *Gorduno*, Gordona, Cortona; *Lavin*, *Lavis*, *Lavis*, *Laven*, *Lavant*, Lavinium, Labicum; *Laret*, *Laurein*, Laurentum; *Fuldera*, Vulturum, Volaterræ; *Gravatscha*, *Gravesano*, Gravisca; *Tusis*, Tusculum; *Remis*, Remuria, (the supposed town represented by Remus;) *Romein*, Roma; *Vrin*, Verentum; *Vaz*, *Vattis*, *Feet*, *Fetton*, Vetulonii. *Süs*, or *Süss*, *Zuz*, *Soazza*, Suessa Pometia, Suessa Aurunca, Suessula; (these names may perhaps be referred to the Ræto-romansch 'sust, suost. E. *ir*, star, *esser* a—, unter Dach seyn: *susta*, *suosta*. E. Schoppen') *Talamona*, Telamo, (now *Talamone*;) *Fideris*, *Fidaz*, *Vigens*, Fidenæ; *Peist*, *Pæstum*; *Räzüns*, *Arezo*, *Araschka*, Ar-

retium; *Faller*, *Fellers*, *Flerda*, *Filisur*, *Valatsch*, *Fläsch*, *Fleiss*, *Flas*, *Fellan*, *Falesine*, Falerii or Falisci; *Ruschein*, Rusellæ; *Tenna*, *Tena*, *Tenno*, Teanum; *Surrein*, Surrentum. *Salerna Plaz*, *Salurn*, (anc. Salurnum), Salernum. *Sins*, *Sagens*, Signia. The names *Trons*, *Trins*, *Trans*, *Tirano*, *Tersnaus*, *Tarsch*, *Teres*, *Tres*, *Tret*, *Trens*, *Turano*, may also be compared with Tyrrheni and Tyrseni, although, as before mentioned, names resembling these two ancient appellations may be found in many different quarters. Nor indeed is it meant to be inferred that even the other names cited are entirely without parallels elsewhere: such exclusive similarity cannot be expected to obtain. It is enough that the instances of resemblance should be numerous and striking; and this may safely be asserted to be the case.

<sup>1</sup> Yet, though Xanthus says nothing of the Lydian emigration to Italy, he speaks of Lydus and Torybus (or Torrhebus) as the sons of Atys, in like manner as Lydus and Tyrrhenus are spoken of in the tradition of the emigration. See Malden, *Hist. Rome*, p. 72. Note. Herodotus also (I. 94), expressly says that the story of the emigration was related by the Lydians themselves.

negation. The affinities between nations do not always lie on the surface, and cannot be detected by every observer. A man like Dionysius might possibly have considered the affinity of the English to the Swedes and Germans, and to the inhabitants of the Cimbric peninsula, to be no affinity at all. And yet it might be no more than an affinity of this nature which existed between the Etruscans and the Lydians. The Etruscans and Lydians may have been branches of the Thracian race, in the same manner as the English, Swedes, Danes, Holsatians, and all the German nations, are branches of the Teutonic race. It is also certain, from what has been noticed above, that the assertion of Dionysius is far too sweeping, and that there was a certain resemblance between the Etruscans and the Lydians, although perhaps that resemblance was not so obvious as to have constituted what Dionysius would have called similarity. Nor does the second and generally received explanation of the myth which brings the Etruscans from Lydia, namely, the identity between the Tyrrheni of Etruria and the Tyrsenian Pelasgians of the Ægean, seem sufficient to explain the resemblance between the Etruscans and the Asiatic Thracians. The cause does not appear at all adequate to produce the effect attributed to it.

The story of the Lydian migration, although accepted by the Etruscans, is said, according to all accounts, not to have originated with them. As this circumstance helps to destroy the historical character of the tradition, it is favourable to the theory here supported. For the tradition represents the Etruscans to have arrived in Etruria by sea, and to have conquered from south to north till they reached the Alps. This, however, in a maritime age, would be the natural way of explaining the affinity between the two nations, as soon as it was discovered to exist: and it seems altogether preferable to suppose, in accordance with the later opinions on the subject of the Etruscans, that they issued forth from the valleys of the Rhætian Alps, and conquered from north to south till they arrived at the Tiber and the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea.

Another Etruscan tradition seems slightly to favour the theory of their Thracian origin. The head of the Etruscan cities in Etruria was considered to be Tarquinii. This city had an eponymous hero called Tarchon or Tarchun, who was said to be the son or brother of Tyrrhenus, and to whom was also attributed

the foundation of the twelve Etruscan cities between the Alps and the Apennines. Thus the origin of all the Etruscan cities was, it may be said, referred to this Tarchon: 'Das ganze Etruskische Städtebund wurde auf ihn zurückbezogen' (Müller, I. 73). He seems to have represented the Etruscan nation in the same manner as Hellen represented the Hellenes, or Romulus the Romans. The name Tarchon appears one which would connect itself without difficulty with the Thracians.

From the examination of the relationship between the Etruscans on the one hand, and the Lydians and other Asiatic Thracians on the other, we must now turn to notice an affinity which has been observed by philologists between the Etruscans and a race far removed from the seats of the ancient Lydians,—an affinity, namely, between the Etruscans and the Germans, and more especially the Gothic branch of the German stock, the Low Germans and Scandinavians, the race to which we ourselves belong<sup>1</sup>. It cannot be doubted that there is in several points a striking resemblance. The name of the Etruscan gods, *æsar*, scarcely varies from the Old Norse *æsir*, 'gods<sup>2</sup>.' The highest Etruscan gods also, like Odin and the other Scandinavian Asen, were not immortal, but had only a limited duration of life allotted to them. The Etruscan fable of Tages, the dwarf who rose from the ground at Tarquinii, and instructed the people in divination, is said to find its parallel in the ancient fables of the Germans<sup>3</sup>. It has also been observed that even the political system of the Etruscans exhibited in one respect a peculiar similarity to that of the ancient Saxons, our own ancestors<sup>4</sup>. However, it is unnecessary here to enter into the subject of the resemblance

<sup>1</sup> Dr Donaldson considers the Etruscans as pure Getæ, Goths, or Low Germans. (*Varronianus*, p. 16: and *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science for 1851*). The resemblance between the Germans and Etruscans is also noticed by Grimm: 'einzelnes in etruskischer sage und sprache klingt an germanisches.' (*Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 115. Ed. 1853).

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Diefenbach, *Goth. Dict.* pp. 51, 52.

<sup>3</sup> Niebuhr, *Hist. Rome*. Ed. Hare

and Thirlwall, I. 139.

<sup>4</sup> 'It is distinctly asserted by Dionysius, that the common chief of the (Etruscan) nation was always one of the twelve kings of the separate cities.' (Malden, *Hist. Rome*, p. 90).

'Twelve Ethelings governed over the land of the Saxons; and when war arose, the Saxons chose one of the twelve to be king while the war lasted; and when it was over, the twelve became alike.' Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, Appendix to Book II. (Quoted by Malden in note to p. 90).



between the Etruscans and the nations of Gothic race. It is sufficient merely to notice that the resemblance is one which rests upon good authority, and to endeavour to examine its bearing on the present question<sup>1</sup>.

Now, if the Etruscans and the Rhætians belonged to the Thracian stock of nations, their Gothic affinities are readily

<sup>1</sup> I am not, however, aware that the resemblance between the Gothic and the Rhæto-romansch dialects has been observed. It is in some cases exceedingly close. The Rhæto-romansch words which so nearly resemble the Gothic are, it is probable, words of Rhætian origin. It is true that for about forty years Rhætia was attached to the Italian kingdom of the Ostrogoths; but this circumstance

would be scarcely sufficient to account for the similarity. The Ostrogoths, indeed, are said to have planted a colony in the country of the Breones, but that tribe did not inhabit the modern Grisons. In the comparison which follows the Gothic words are taken from Diefenbach's *Goth. Dict.* or '*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Gothischen Sprache.*'

## Gothic.

## Rhæto-romansch.

*Anaks*, plötzlich . . . . .  
*Baidjan*, *gabaidjan*, nöthigen, ἀναγκά-  
ζεω. sk. *bādih*, vexare, *bādha*, moles-  
tation . . . . .

*Brakja*, Kampf, Luctus . . . . .

*Vepna*, pl. n. Waffen . . . . .

*Frausts*, Filius, Kind . . . . .

*Magus*, Knabe; *Magaths*, Jungfrau;  
*Mavi*, Mädchen . . . . .

*Muka-modei* (*modei*=Gemüt) Sanftmut,  
μακρότης. 2 Cor. x. i . . . . .

*Sirujan*, nähén, ἐπιπρόπτειν . . . . .

*Sves*, eigen, angehörig . . . . .

*Guma*, Mann, ἀνὴρ; *gumakunds*, männ-  
lich (von geschlecht) . . . . .

*Aneg*, *anetg*, *anech*, plötzlich.

*Badaisch*, E. Streit, Zank. (We have also, in Italian, *badalucco*, 'a skirmish,' a word which does not appear to be derived from the Latin, and may thus possibly be, if not borrowed from the Ostrogoths, of Etruscan origin. The Italian, as is well known, is properly the modern Tuscan dialect).

*Breigia*, Mühe, Anstrengung.

*Braja*, E. Mühe.

*Vopa*, i. Wappen.

*Frasca*, Zweig; *frascaria*, E. Buben-  
streich. (*Frasca* and *frascheria* also occur, with the same meanings, in Italian. These words seem to have no connexion with the Latin).

*Matt*, *Mattatsch*, Knabe, Jüngling,  
Junge; *Matta*, Mädchen, Jungfrau;  
*Mattaniglia*, Kinder.

*Muca*, Still, betroffen.

*Siovar*, *sieuer*, nachfolgen, nachgehen,  
einholen, (Lat. *sequi*).

*Sezz*, *sveas*, selbst.

*Gümatsch*, E. Widder, ('Beim lat. *aries* kommt viel in betracht: gr. ἀρήν, ἀρ-  
ός, was ἀρρήν, ἀρσην männliches thier  
sein soll.' Grimm, *Geach. der Deut-  
schen Sprache*, p. 24).

explained. For, if the Rhætians were of Thracian origin, we should be naturally inclined to connect them with that branch of

Gothic.

*Qvithan*, st. *qvath*, *qvethun*, *qvithans*, sagen, sprechen; auch von Einem, Einen meinen, nennen, *εἰπεῖν*, *ἐρεῖν*, *λέγειν*, &c. . . . .  
*Ga-daban*, st. præt. *gadob*, sich ereignen, *συμβαλεῖν*...*gadobs*, einmal . . .  
*Taihsvs*, recht, *δεξιός* . . . . .

Rhæto-romansch.

*Qvittar*, 1. meinen, sich einbilden.  
*Gada*, *giada*, *jada*, 2. *geda*, 3. Mal. *Dus ga dus*, Zweimal zwei.  
*Teiss*, *stip*, E. (Compare *stip* with Eng. *steep*, Ang.-Sax. *steap*) steil, jäh.

The Thracian languages seem also to have some affinity to the Gothic. Thus the meaning assigned to the name *Phryges* or *Briges*, 'free men' is very close to the Gothic *frijai*, (pl. of *freis*) 'free.' So also the word *σκάλη, θρακία μάχαρα*, (*Arica*, p. 53), has a resemblance to the Gothic *skalja*, 'bilanx, squama, lamina, festuca.' altn. bedutet *skálm* oder *skálma* geradezu framea und nach Biorn vagina gladii, warum nicht gladius? Grimm. Compare also Ital. *schermo*, &c. Eng. *skirmish*. *Σκάρκη, ἀργύρια θρακιστί*, (*Arica*, p. 53), may possibly be allied to the Gothic *skatts*, 'geldstück, geld, ἀργύριον, δηνδριον.' The Phrygian word for 'gold,' *γλουρός* (*Arica*, p. 34), seems also to be related to the German stock of languages. For, in the word *γλουρος*, the first part (see Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 6) connects itself at once with the Germanic languages. The second part appears allied to the Lat. *aurum*, but may be referred at the same time to the Eng. *ore* and the Germ. *erz*, words signifying 'metal' generally. The German words *gold* and *gelb* are also easily connected together. Thus the Phrygian *γλούρος*, as explained by reference to the Germanic languages, will signify the 'yellow ore,' or the 'yellow metal.'

The genealogies of the Thracians presented, in one particular, a singular analogy to those of the old Saxons. The Thracian chiefs (Grote, iv. p. 27), de-

duced their origin from a god called by the Greeks *Hermes*, to whom they offered peculiar worship, sometimes human sacrifices. This reminds us of the Saxon chiefs tracing their descent from *Woden*. The Greek *Hermes* corresponds also to *Woden*. (Grimm, *Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 84).

Besides the Rhæto-romansch words allied to the Gothic, there are a few others which deserve notice, as indicating the affinities and antiquity of a part of these dialects. The word *vedretta* signifies 'a glacier' in the Grisons. This is plainly allied to the Lat. *vitrum*, (*veider* meaning 'glass' in Rhæto-romansch;) for we know from the words *κρύσταλλος*, *crystallus*, and the French *glace*, that the ideas of 'ice' and 'glass' are connected together. *Vedretta* is possibly a word of true Rhætian extraction, for it occurs beyond the limits of the Grisons, but within those of ancient Rhætia. The name of the Val Bedretto, (the highest part of the valley of the Ticino) seems undoubtedly derived from it; and very probably the name of the Val Vedro, through which the Simplon road is conducted, may be deduced from a similar origin. Another circumstance may possibly favour the notion of the antiquity of this word. The Val Bedretto, though still flanked by glaciers, is now entirely free from ice: but it is quite certain, from the existence of phenomena connected with glaciers, that they occupied at a remote period the

the Thracian race, which was the nearest to them in position. But, of the acknowledged branches of the Thracian race, the nearest to the Rhetians was the great nation of the Getæ or Daci; a people who, if not actually Goths, were yet, according to the best authorities, closely allied to them. Dr Donaldson, (*Varronianus*, p. 43) even looks upon the Getæ as actually Low Germans.

actual bed of the valley. *Vedretta* is not the expression for a glacier in Canton Tessin, or Ticino. The word in use there is *biegno*. It appears, without the Italian change of *i* for *l*, in the name of the Val Blegno. This word may possibly also be Rhetian. It is perhaps allied to the Ital. *bianco*, the Fr. *blanc*, and the Eng. *blank*, words probably of German origin, and the root of which seems best represented by the Old Norse *blanka*, 'nitere.' We find a word of this class coupled with ice in the expression 'ice-blink,' which occurs so often in narratives of Arctic voyages. In the Rheto-romansch dialects there are found also different forms of a singular word, *samada*, *samadra*, *sumada*, *smedas*, 'gefrorne Schnee.' It seems not improbable that this word may be connected with 'Hæmus,' 'Imaus,' 'Emodi Montes,' or 'Himalaya,' and thus be referred to the sansk. *hima*. "Sk. *hima* frigus Rìgv. I 19, 6. zd. *zyàs*, ps. *zimistân*, arm. *zmerñ*, os. *zimäk zümäk* (gr. *χειμών*, lat. *hiems*, litt. *ziema*, slav. *zimà*)" *Arica*, pp. 78, 79. The name of the Val Kamadra, one of the two highest branches of the Val Blegno, is perhaps connected with the word *samadra*. There is a vast expanse of glacier on the Piz Kamadra, the mountain at the head of this valley. There occurs also in Rheto-romansch a word *tschengel* or *tscheingel* (perhaps allied to the Lat. *singulus*) 'einsam stehender Fels, Weide über demselben.' This word is found beyond the Grison frontier, there being a Tschingel-horn, as well as a Tschingel-gletscher, and a hamlet called Tschingel, (both near the mountain) in the

Bernese Alps. The name of the Grison mountain, Skagls, may be compared with the Norwegian Skagstøl. The name of the lake Dim, in which the Middle Rhine has its source, may be referred to the sansk. *timì*, 'oceanus;' *tim*, 'humidum esse,' *tâmara*, 'aqua.' Perhaps also the name of the lake Toma, from which the Fore Rhine issues, may have a similar origin. There is the same root in the Scythian *temerinda*. (See *Arica*, p. 57. *Varronianus*, p. 51). Another Alpine term may also be adduced to explain a Scythian name. The Scythians called the Caucasus *Graucassus* or *Groucausus*, 'nive candidus.' *Arica*, p. 55. *Grau*, or *grou*, may be compared with the Germ. *grau*, and may possibly stand for 'candidus.' *Cas*, then, should signify 'nix.' Now *kees* is the local name in Styria and Austria for a glacier, and may very well be referred to the sansk. *kâç*, 'lucere,' as we have previously referred the Tessinese *biegno* to the Old Norse *blanka*, 'nitere.' Similar ideas, those of 'whiteness,' 'brilliance,' or 'glistening,' may perhaps be suspected to exist in *vedretta* and *glacier*. There was some affinity between the Scythian and Thracian languages. 'Von getische und thrakischer sprache ist gewissermassen skythische untrennbar.' Grimm. The name *Caucasus* rather resembles that of the Dacian *Mons Cocajon*, and suggests as a parallel the *Kogel* of the Tyrolese and other Austrian Alps. *Cucc*, in Rheto-romansch, = Germ. *Stein*. But these words have a vast number of kindred terms. See Diefenbach, *Goth. Dict.* Fl. 35. II. p. 533.



Grimm also, while he recognizes the fact, (*Gesch. der Deutschen Sprache*, p. 125) that no Roman writer of the first or second centuries ever regarded the Getæ as anything else than a Thracian people, still looks upon them as having at the same time a close relationship to the Goths. The ninth chapter of his work is devoted to a very full consideration of the subject of the Thracians and Getæ; and the results at which he arrives are embodied by him in a series of three propositions, which may be given as follows:

“The Thracians and Getæ were allied to the other originally-related (*urverwandten*) races in Europe; and their language may be explained from the German, and also from the Slavonian, Lithuanian, Greek, and Celtic languages, while it has at the same time a peculiar element of its own.

Either the Thracians, and especially the Getæ, must have shewn in their language a remarkable approximation to the German and Lithuanian: (some branches of their race were directly comprehended among the Lithuanians and Germans).

Or, finally, there existed a still closer connexion between the North-western Thracians, i. e. Getæ, and the Eastern Germans, i. e. Goths; so that in both Getæ and Goths the Thracian and German stocks were connected.”

The Gothic affinities of the Rhætians and Etruscans appear thus to be satisfactorily explained by supposing them to belong to the Thracian stock of nations, and perhaps to be more particularly attached to the Getic branch of that stock. Indeed it seems evident that if the Etruscans were allied at the same time to the Germans and the ancient nations of Anatolia, there is no race but the Thracian to which they can possibly be referred.

Nothing now remains but to endeavour to explain how, supposing the Etruscans to have been a people of Thracian race, and perhaps, according to the legend, more particularly allied to the Lydians, or, at least, to the Asiatic Thracians, they yet happened to be found in a country so far from Asia as Etruria. To offer any explanation as one resting upon certain or solid grounds is indeed, from the want of historical evidence, impossible; but it seems necessary, in support of the consistency of our theory, to shew how such a separation might have occurred.

Now the Asiatic Thracians appear, most probably, to have

passed from European Thrace into Anatolia. This supposition is supported by the authority of Niebuhr, who considers that the emigration from Europe of the Phrygians, Mysians, and Bithynians, was probably caused by a pressure of the Cimmerians upon the Thracians. That such was the cause of their emigration is rendered likely, both by geographical and historical reasons. For the stream of population on the north of the Black Sea, which must originally have set from the east, would have been arrested by the Carpathian Mountains, and have produced a continual pressure from the north-east, through the opening between the Carpathians and the Black Sea, upon the regions near the mouth of the Danube. The records of history, both ancient and modern, bear testimony to the frequency of invasion through this particular district. Thracians and Scythians, as well as other nations, would have found a ready access into Southern Europe by this road. At what period, however, the first Thracian settlements were formed to the south of the Carpathians is utterly beyond the reach of conjecture. It would be before the dawn of profane history that the most advanced of the Thracian tribes probably occupied the countries on the Lower Danube, where an earlier Pelasgian population possibly existed. Among these tribes, all perhaps belonging to the Getic branch of the Thracian race, the kindred nations of the Etruscans, Lydians, and Phrygians, may have been included. But additional bodies of similar tribes, perhaps of Mysians or Mæsiæns, followed by other Thracians, themselves impelled onward by Cimmerians, and these again by Scythians, would have been continually pressing through the opening between the Euxine and the Carpathians. By the advance of these tribes, the Lydians and Phrygians may have been separated from the Etruscans, driven over the Hæmus, and compelled ultimately to immigrate into Anatolia. Yet the same pressure from the north-east, which drove one part of the early Thracian settlers to the south, would also have driven others to the south-west or west. Among those who were driven west, up the stream of the Danube, may have been the Etruscans. Further pressure, or other causes, may have caused them to advance still more to the west, to enter the Alps, and to penetrate into Rhætia. From the mountains of Rhætia they emerged into the plains of Italy, and extended

their conquests into Tyrrhænia, where the light of history first falls upon them<sup>1</sup>.

The Thracian race did not, however, at least latterly, extend in an unbroken chain from the Halys to the Tiber. While the Gallic conquest of Northern Italy separated the Etruscans from the Rhætians, another Gallic migration, passing along the northern foot of the Alps, and continuing to follow the course of the Danube, cut off the Rhætians from the Thracian tribes on the east. This latter migration probably took place in the beginning of the fourth century B. C. (Grote. iv. p. 7.) From this time the predominant population of Pannonia and Noricum was Celtic, although Thracians, and perhaps Illyrians also, would have been intermixed with the Gallic tribes. The territory of the Getæ or Daci thus became the most western (or rather north-western) Thracian country which was known to ancient geographers, while the Rhætians remained in their mountains, almost surrounded by the Gauls, and isolated by them from the rest of their pure Thracian kindred. This separation, and the many centuries which had elapsed between the date of the Etruscan settlement in Italy and the period when the Romans became acquainted with the Getæ, seem sufficient causes to account for the fact, that the Romans, probably no deep enquirers on such a subject, did not recognize any resemblance between the Getæ and the Etruscans, nations so dissimilar in point of cultivation, and in whose languages the vast lapse of time would have caused a considerable, and even a very great difference<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The valleys of the Drave and the Adige open an easy passage through the Alps from the plains of Hungary to the plains of Italy. In fact, the mountains can hardly be said to raise a barrier between the head of the Drave and the head of the valley of the Rienz, the most eastern of the three chief branches of the Adige. The watershed is neither a high ridge nor a barren plateau, but an extended plain which produces corn, declining with extreme gentleness both to the east and the west, and having a considerable village, Toblach, standing upon it. The Germans, indeed, con-

sider the valley of the Rienz, and the Tyrolese part of the valley of the Drave, as forming together but a single valley, which is called the Pusterthal.

<sup>2</sup> We find a Byzantine historian of the fifteenth century asserting that the English language bore no affinity to the languages of the Continent, among which he must have included the German. (Gibbon, cap. LXVI. Vol. XII. p. 84. ed. Milman.) This may also lead us to look with suspicion upon Dionysius' denial of any affinity between the Lydian and Etruscan languages.



## III.

*On Æsch. Choeph. 278—296. (ed. Dindorf.)*

THE difficulties which this passage has hitherto presented to the critics can scarcely be exaggerated. The solution which I have to propose has the merit, I think, of confronting them all; depending as it does, even in its details, not merely on isolated considerations, but on a view of the requirements of the whole.

The source of all the perplexity and error has been the supposition that the *χρησμός*, which is the subject of the speech, is in the main a prophecy to Orestes about his own punishment, or, at least, about his and Electra's. That this is not the case is evident from the tenor of the language throughout, which is studiously general. The infinitives which run through the whole passage are not in the future, as in v. 277, where Orestes is undoubtedly spoken of, *τίσειν* μέ, but in the present (*ἐπαυτεῖλλειν* v. 282, *διώκεσθαι* v. 289, *εἶναι* v. 292, where the negative is *οὔτε*, not *μήτε*, *ἀπείργειν* v. 293, *δέχεσθαι* and *συλλύειν* v. 294, *θνήσκειν* v. 295,) and the same view is recommended or necessitated by *βροτοῖς* v. 279, which, at any rate, suggests a general application, and *τοῖς τοιούτοις* v. 291, which speaks for itself. The *χρησμός* then, like that referred to in *Agam.* 1568, is not a prediction, but the announcement of a general law, operating in this case on all who fail to avenge a father's murder. Keeping this before us, let us examine the passage in detail.

The first sentence, vv. 278—282, is one which has been explained or corrected in many ways, some impossible, all more or less unsatisfactory. The words in v. 279, *τὰς δὲ νῦν*, seem to speak of a contrast between the fate of Orestes and Electra, and that of some other persons designated as *βροτοί*: but nothing can be made of the opposition, as if we understand by *βροτοί* men in general, we fail to obtain a significant parallel; if the citizens of Argos, we convict Æschylus of a misapplication of language, when he might quite as easily have said *ἄστοι*. Nor do we gain much by turning *τὰς δὲ* into *τάσδε*, whether we suppose it to be put for *τάδε* by attraction, or render it 'these diseases

which follow.' I pass over the forced senses which have been given to *δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα*, 'alleviations of diseases or of angry visitations,' 'calamities which would delight an enemy,' and the like. That there is corruption somewhere in the sentence cannot be doubted, and the general view of the requirements of the whole passage which I have just indicated enables us to fix on the place—the words *τὰς δὲ νῶν*. A further examination of the context will, I think, guide us, at least proximately, to the word or words required in place of them. According to the present reading *μειλίγματα* and *νόσους* are coupled rather awkwardly with *ἐπαντέλλειν*, v. 282, as objects of *πιφαύσκων εἶπε*, 'he (or it) spoke of diseases, and (he said) that white hairs spring up on this disease.' We should have certainly expected to have an infinitive in the earlier part of the sentence as well as in the later, even if the sentence ended, as it is commonly supposed to do, with v. 282. Musgrave seems to have perceived this, and the alteration which he proposed of *πιφαύσκειν* for *πιφαύσκων* is ingenious and plausible, though few would follow him in his grotesque substitution of *γαστέρων* for *τὰς δὲ νῶν*. We might complete his emendation by a suggestion of Bamberger's, and read *πιφαύσκειν εἶπεν ἀσθενῶν νόσους Σάρκων ἐπαμβατήρας*, if it did not seem better that *ἐπαμβατήρας* should not be forced into so close a connexion with *νόσους*, instead of standing, as it is generally understood, in apposition to it, and simply qualifying *λειχῆνας*. *πιφαύσκων* too is a word which we should gladly retain in its application to Apollo's oracle, which accords best with its Homeric use, and is strongly supported by Eum. 620, *βουλῇ πιφαύσκω δ' ἔμμ' ἐπισπείσθαι πατρός*, where Apollo is the speaker. We have then to seek an infinitive which may stand in the place of *τὰς δὲ νῶν*. Putting paleographical considerations out of sight, I know no word so natural as <sup>1</sup>*βλαστοτάνειν*, used, as it not unfrequently is, (see Lobeck's *Soph. Ajax*, pp. 90, 382, Ed. 2, and compare *βλαστοῦσι* . . . *πτανά τε καὶ πεδοβάμονα* in v. 589 of this very play, where the common reading is not only defensible but required by the context), in a sense which may be explained either as transitive, or, as I would rather regard it, at least in earlier Greek, as intransitive with a cognate accusative. Let us see then how the sentence will run:

<sup>1</sup> Has any reason ever been suggested why *βλαστοτάνω* and its cognates should be an exception, as they

undoubtedly are, to the rule which forbids the shortening of a vowel before *βλ*?

τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα  
 βροτοῖς πιφαύσκων εἶπε βλαστάνειν νόσους,  
 σαρκῶν ἐπαμβατήρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις  
 λειχῆνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν,  
 λευκάς δὲ κόρσας τῇδ' ἐπαντέλλειν νόσῳ

τὰ μὲν, then, stands in a sort of double opposition, to λευκάς δὲ κόρσας, v. 282, where the distinction merely amounts to discrimination, and to ἄλλας τε, v. 283, where it is a real contrast. δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα, in a connexion like this, can only have one sense, the libations offered to appease the angry powers below. The sense of μειλίγματα is proved by v. 15 above, χοὰς . . . νερτέροις μειλίγματα, with which compare Pers. 610, χοὰς . . . ἅπερ νεκροῖσι μελικτήρια, and Eum. 107, χοὰς . . . νηφάλια μειλίγματα: that of δυσφρόνων, including both the dead and the Erinnyes (on the connexion of whom with the earth see by all means Müller on the Eumenides, §§ 80, sqq.), by such passages as in 39 sqq. above, where the dead are said μέμφεσθαι and ἐγκοτεῖν, and still more by the contrasted use of εὔφρονες of the same powers when propitiated, Pers. 627, Eum. 992, 1030, where it is in fact synonymous with Εὐμένιδες. The meaning, then, is, that in the case of a person neglecting to avenge his father's death, his very offerings of piety to those beneath, so far from being accepted, only make diseases spring up from the earth on which they are poured. ἐκ γῆς belongs in construction to τὰ μειλίγματα, in sense to βλαστάνειν, a usage not infrequent in Æschylus, e.g. v. 507 below, τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστήρα σώζοντες λίνου, nor uncommon in other writers, and generally explained either as a trajection or as a condensed expression. βροτοῖς then, construed with βλαστάνειν, will have the force so well pointed out and illustrated by Klausen, in his note on v. 121 (129 Dind.), characterizing the living in their relation to the dead as partakers of a common mortality. It is with great propriety that maladies so produced from the earth are said to be λειχῆνες, which in Æschylus' view are diseases of plants no less than of men (comp. Eum. 785, where the λειχὴν ἄφυλλος, produced by the Erinnyes, is said to cast βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας), so that ἐπαμβατήρας may possibly designate leprosy as mounting from the earth to the human form, as the poison in Lucan's description of the African serpents (Phars. 9. 830) runs along the soldier's lance 'invaditque manum.' I will only add with regard to βλαστάνειν, that though to the eye it bears no very



marked resemblance to *τὰς δὲ νῶν*, it might perhaps not unnaturally be confounded with it by the ear, if we suppose transcribers to have sometimes written from dictation, a source of confusion long since pointed out to me by a friend, as explaining corruptions in other passages of the Greek dramatists.

So far then the passage has been made to yield a clear and consistent sense. Let us proceed to the next sentence, vv. 283—285. There we find the commentators equally perplexed, hesitating between various supposed constructions, one of which connects *ὄρωντα* with *φωνεῖ*, 'it speaks of me as seeing,' another with *τελουμένας*, 'brought to pass on me as I see,' while a third makes it a neuter, in a somewhat strange apposition with *προσβολάς*, 'things which see.' The only plausible suggestion is Hermann's, who places v. 285 after v. 288: but the evident logical connexion between *ἐν σκότῳ* and *τὸ γὰρ σκοτεινόν*, pointed out by Klausen, seems decisive in favour of the old order. Thus we are again led to suppose a corruption, and again led to seek it in a lost infinitive. The use of *φωνεῖ* has already rather perplexed the editors, some of whom adopt Stanley's *ἐφώνει*. We shall see the meaning of the adherence of the MSS. to the present, at the same time that we clear up the sentence if we read *φωνεῖν*. These lines then will be closely connected with the preceding, depending on *πιφαύσκων* *εἶπε* as their principal verb. The subject of *φωνεῖν* will be *ὄρωντα*, its object *προσβολάς*. Translate, keeping the order of the Greek, 'And that other onsets' (or, if we take *προσβολάς* passively, 'visitations') 'of the Erinnyes, brought to pass by the slain father's blood, are summoned and harked on by him, as he sees clearly while bending his brow in darkness.' The order of the words enables us to see that the person designated by *ὄρωντα* is the father, who has been already mentioned by implication (as Klausen, though in other respects quite wide of the mark, rightly perceives) in the word *πατρώων*. The dead man calls the Erinnyes, just as in v. 402, *βοᾷ . . . λογιγὸς Ἑρινύν*, or as in Virg. *Æn.* 6. 572, 'Tisiphone . . . vocat agmina sæva sororum.' He looks clearly through the darkness, and calls the Erinnyes, the powers of darkness, by name, like a huntsman his pack, the very image expressed in other passages (*Cho.* 924, 1054. comp. *Eum.* 132, 246), where they are actually spoken of as *κύνες*. Then follows a parenthesis (rightly pointed as such by Mr Paley)

from τὸ γάρ, v. 286, to παράσσει, expressing the fact that the arrow of darkness and the frenzy of midnight panic are weapons in the hands of the dead, an explanation, in short, of the ἄλλας προσβολάς, after which the infinitives are resumed with διώκεσθαι, the undoubted reading of the MSS., and continue to the end of the χρησμός, v. 296. Thus, the whole passage, with the exception of the parenthesis, forms one sentence, depending on πιφαύσκων εἶπε—precisely the structure which we should have been previously entitled to expect in the case of an oracular utterance.

The above view is, I believe, perfectly original in the main. The observation that the language throughout is general had been already made by Dobree, and afterwards by J. Wordsworth<sup>1</sup>, to whom it seems to have occurred independently, as it did to myself: but neither of them appears to have applied it to clearing up any of the difficulties of the passage; the supposition of the former, that a line had been lost after v. 284, τοιαῦτα πέμψειν εἶπε τὸν κατὰ χθονός, 'Ορῶντα κ.τ.λ., only showing that he did not appreciate the value of his discovery, whether we suppose him to have confounded πέμψειν with πέμπειν, or to have imagined a particular reference to Agamemnon and Orestes to be introduced in the midst of the general denunciation. It may be some confirmation of the truth of my view if I mention that it opened on me only very gradually, many months having intervened between the first perception of the character of the χρησμός with its bearings, and the complete solution of all the perplexities in detail. I still desire some illustration of the supposed belief that libations poured on the earth by unholy hands produced natural diseases: but it is sufficiently intelligible in itself, and appropriate to Æschylus.

JOHN CONINGTON.

<sup>1</sup> In his MS. notes, for the use of which I am indebted to the kindness of his brother, Dr Wordsworth.

## IV.

*On some passages in Sophocles.*

READERS of Sophocles ought to be much obliged to Dr. Kennedy for his paper in No. III. and particularly for his interpretation of CEd. R. v. 227 sqq., which, as it seems to me, is a satisfactory settlement of a most difficult passage. I cannot, however, agree with his view of v. 325, where as I have already remarked in *Terminalia* No. II. I consider *ὥς μὴ πάθω* as equivalent to *ὅπως μὴ πείσομαι*, 'let me not suffer,' or 'I will take care not to suffer.' So in Ant. 215, where Dindorf has most unfortunately altered the text, *ὥς ἂν σκοποὶ ἦτε* is for the more usual *ὅπως σκοποὶ ἔσσεσθε*. In v. 688, concurring generally with him against Wunder and Schneidewin, I explain *παριείς* not as he does, 'neglecting,' but with former commentators, *ἐκλύων*, 'unnerving,' so as to make it virtually equivalent to *καταμβλύνων*. Not unlike is the expression *χείρα δ' οὐ διαφθερῶ*, Eur. Med. 1055.

I pass on to a few other passages not included in his remarks, following, for the sake of convenience, Dindorf's numeration.

Antig. 310. *ἵν' εἰδότες τὸ κέρδος ἔνθεν οἰστέον*  
*τὸ λοιπὸν ἀρπάζητε.*

This passage, as it seems to me, has not been fully understood. The commentators perceive the irony of telling men who are hanged to go on plundering, with which they aptly enough compare Ajax 100, *θανόντες ἤδη τᾶμ' ἀφαιρείσθων ὄπλα*, but suppose nothing more to be intended. I believe however that v. 310 is meant to be highly emphatic, qualifying *ἀρπάζητε*, 'that you may plunder for the future with a knowledge whence gain is not derived (*τὸ κέρδος ἔνθεν οἰστέον* being explained by the words just following, v. 312, *οὐκ ἐξ ἅπαντος δεῖ τὸ κερδαίνειν φιλεῖν*),' or, as we might say, 'that your future pilferings may be regulated by a principle of moral discrimination.' The expression is one of those so frequent in Greek tragedy where the adverb or modifying clause of a verb or the epithet of a noun does not qualify but neutralize its meaning, so as to produce the effect of an oxymoron. And so I would understand the passage quoted from the Ajax, 'let them take away my arms as men who are already dead,' or,



to give the force of the line in more poetical English, 'let them carry off my arms with hands now powerless in death.' I will add that while assenting to Dr. Kennedy's vindication of the old reading of CEd. R. 1271, which appears to me most successfully made out, I think he has done wrong in deserting Musgrave's explanation of ἐν σκότῳ ὀψοίατο. The words οὖς μὲν οὐκ ἔδει ought surely to be interpreted by the analogy of v. 1185, οὖς τε μ' οὐκ ἔδει κτανῶν (referred to by Schneidewin), not of 'unwelcome visitors from the world of darkness,' but of parents or children of CEdipus (it matters little which, for the words will apply equally to both), 'those on whom he ought never to have looked,' looked, that is, with the eyes of a husband or father. These accordingly he resolves for the future to look upon ἐν σκότῳ, in darkness, or with the eyes of a blind man. The position of ἐν σκότῳ of course shows that it was intended to include not only the clause οὖς μὲν but the clause οὖς δέ, so that we should have expected γνωσοίατο without οὐ: but Sophocles has disregarded propriety of language for the sake of immediate clearness, and inserted the negative just as if ἐν σκότῳ had not preceded, very much on the principle on which we frequently see negatives repeated in Greek. I incline to take οὖς μὲν οὐκ ἔδει and οὖς δ' ἔχρηζεν not for two different sets of persons but for the same persons characterized in two different ways, those on whom he had no right to look, and those whom in spite of that he naturally desired to recognize—in other words, those who by an unnatural act had become naturally connected with him. The whole passage from v. 1271 is doubtless chargeable with much repetition: but the repetition aggravates the horror.

Antig. 797. The MS. reading παρέδρος ἐν ἀρχαῖς has been disturbed by most recent editors, as not corresponding to the metre of the strophic v. 787. But for this want of correspondence I can hardly believe that any one would have found a difficulty in the sense, as it is surely most natural to speak of love as usurping or assuming a place on the judgment-seat side by side with law—claiming, that is, equal control over man's life. It appears to have occurred to no one that the error may be in the strophe, where the substitution of φυλάξιμος for φύξιμος would at once bring the metre into accordance. So in Æsch. Supp. 9 the MSS. give φυλαξάνορα or φυλαξάνορος with φυξάνορα or φυξάνορος as a gloss.

Ajax 3. “καὶ νῦν applies the general statement to the special case, in the sense of ὥσπερ αἰεί, οὕτω καὶ νῦν. As the καὶ νῦν here corresponds to the αἰεί μὲν, so, in Æsch. Ag. 570, ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι . . . . καὶ νῦν τί δεῖ λέγειν; Lucian Dial. Mor. 8. 1. πάλαι μὲν τὸ τῆς Ἰνουῦ παιδίον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐκομίσατε, καὶ νῦν σὺ τὸν κιθαρωδὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἐξενήξω ἐς Ταίναρον.” Schneidewin, after Wunder. The remark will enable us to elucidate another passage, Æsch. Ag. 1 sqq. θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ’ ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος . . . . καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον, where we may now see that the words φρουρᾶς ἐτείας μῆκος are emphatic, and contrasted with νῦν, thus affording an additional argument, if any were wanted, against Stanley and Valckenaer’s unauthorised μῆχος, now adopted by Dindorf. (And this is substantially Peile’s view, though he merely notices the correspondence between μὲν and καί.) Whether the same doctrine can be applied to Æsch. Eum. 30, καὶ νῦν there being meant to contrast the ceremonies which the priestess goes through on every occasion, as recounted in the preceding verses, with the especial acceptance which she hopes to meet with now, may be worth inquiring.

Philoct. 691. Ἰὺν αὐτὸς ἦν πρόσσυρος, οὐκ ἔχων βάσιν  
οὐδὲ τιν’ ἐγχώρων κακογείτονα.

‘Having no means of walking, and no neighbour in his sufferings,’ is a strange conjunction, even in a chorus of Sophocles. Bothe’s πρόσσυρον οὐκ ἔχων βάσιν, which Linwood adopts, is ingenious: but Ἰὺν αὐτὸς ἦν πρόσσυρος is palpably right, as explained by the older commentators, ‘where he was his own, neighbour,’ just as in Æsch. Cho. 866, μόνος ὦν ἑφεδρος is properly understood by Scholefield to mean, ‘being his own ἑφεδρος,’ i. e. having no ἑφεδρος. If any correction be wanted, we may easily read κάσιν, ‘having no brother or neighbour to help or pity him,’ in which case Æschylus’ κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος, Ag. 194, will illustrate the implied correspondence between πρόσσυρος and κάσις here. The letters κ and β are frequently confused in MSS. In Æsch. Supp. 78, ἡ καὶ μὴ τέλεον δόντες ἔχειν παρ’ αἶσαν, one MS. has ἡ βαί, i. e. ἡβᾶ, which should probably be restored, referring to the sons of Ægyptus (comp. vv. 103 sqq.), the Gods being asked not to let youth have its will when that will is lawless, and to abhor brute violence. Schütz conjectured ἡβαν, Butler ἡβας.

Trachin. 889. ἐπείδες, ὦ ματαία, τάνδ' ὕβριν;

Why the nurse should be called *ματαία* does not appear, even if it be granted that the word may mean 'wretched,' which it could hardly do as distinct from any notion of blame. May it not be an error for *μαῖα*? The metre offers no objection, as the passage is apparently monostrophic.

Elect. 595. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ νουθετεῖν ἔξεστί σε  
ἣ πᾶσαν ἱης γλῶσσαν ὥς τὴν μητέρα  
κακοστομοῦμεν.

ὥς τὴν μητέρα κακοστομοῦμεν is generally made the object clause of ἣ πᾶσαν ἱης γλῶσσαν, 'I may not blame thee, it seems, as thou art constantly saying that I revile my mother.' It is rather singular that no one should have seen that ὥς τὴν μητέρα κ. τ. λ. really belongs to νουθετεῖν, and that the sense is 'but it is not for thee either to school me about insolence to my mother—thee, whose own tongue is so unbridled.' The misleading cause has been the unusual construction ἔξεστί σε νουθετεῖν, instead of ἔξεστί σοι, which is actually the reading of two MSS. doubtless from a correction.

JOHN CONINGTON.

## V.

### *The Mission of Titus to the Corinthians.*

THE mission of Titus, which occupies so prominent a place in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, has been the subject of much discussion with regard to its object and relation to other communications of St Paul with the same Church, especially the similar and almost contemporaneous mission of Timotheus. The explanation here offered has not, as far as I have seen, been anticipated: it is certainly not the view maintained by the most recent critics, English or German. At the same time it seems so far to recommend itself by its simplicity, and to offer so adequate a solution of all the difficulties, which the problem



presents, that it can scarcely have failed to suggest itself to the minds of others besides myself\*.

But perhaps it may not be superfluous to say a few words on the previous communications of St Paul with the Church of Corinth, not only by way of introduction to my immediate subject, but also because they offer considerable difficulties in themselves.

It must have been some time during St Paul's three years' residence at Ephesus (from 54 to 57, A.D.), that he received information of the critical state of the Corinthian Church, which he had himself founded a few years earlier. His presence seemed to be required, and he accordingly crossed the Ægæan, and paid a short visit to the capital of Achaia, returning to Ephesus to complete his missionary work there. This seems to be the most probable account of St Paul's second visit to Corinth, of which little more than the fact is recorded. For though the circumstance is not noticed by St Luke, yet his silence is easily accounted for, supposing it intentional, when we reflect that his object was not to write a complete biography of St Paul, but a history of the Christian Church, and that he has accordingly selected out of his materials, such facts only as throw light upon Christianity in all ages—*representative* facts, as we might call them; while on the other hand, if it be supposed that he was unacquainted with the circumstance, this supposition again is easily explained from the short duration of St Paul's stay at Corinth, and the facility of intercourse between the two coasts of the Ægæan. At all events, there are passages in the epistles (e. g. 2 Cor. xii. 14; xiii. 1, 2) which seem inexplicable under any other hypothesis, except that of a second visit—the difficulty

\* This paper had been partly written and the substance of the whole collected, before Mr Stanley's book appeared. It was no slight satisfaction to me to find that with regard to one main point, the identification of the mission of Titus with that of the brethren mentioned in the First Epistle, the distinguished editor supports the view here maintained. Though so far anticipated, I have ventured to send this paper to the press, because the results were ob-

tained independently, and, where they agree with those of Mr Stanley, are worked out more fully than his plan admitted.

I have alluded several times to Mr Stanley's book in my notes, chiefly where I have had occasion to differ from him; but I would not be thought to disparage so valuable a contribution to the history of the apostolic times. I would wish the same remark to apply to my mention of other distinguished names.

consisting not so much in the words themselves, as in their relation to their context\*. It appears necessary therefore to abandon the opposite view, chiefly known to the English student through the advocacy of Paley, who seeks to explain these passages on the ground of a visit designed, but never actually paid.

The Apostle's visit seems not to have been effectual in checking the evils which called for his interference. It would appear that the shameless profligacy, for which the city was proverbial, had already found its way into the Christian community. He therefore wrote to the Corinthians, warning them to shun the company of offenders in this kind. This letter, which was probably brief and of no permanent interest to the Christian Church, has not been preserved, and we only know that it was written, from a passing allusion to it in a subsequent epistle†—the First to the Corinthians in our Canon. It was

\* I cannot think, for instance, that Mr Stanley's explanation of the context of 2 Cor. xii. 14, *τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, on the ground of the *designed* visit, is at all satisfactory. And yet he calls attention to the opposition between the tenses *κατενάρκησα* and *καταναρκήσω*, which leads to the true solution, "I have not been burdensome to you... I am on the eve of paying you a third visit, and I will not be burdensome," *i.e.* I will observe the same practice as on the two former occasions. But the appeal to his projected visit as a proof of his affection (for this is Mr Stanley's explanation) is quite out of place in this connexion, to say nothing of the ambiguity of expression. His interpretation of 2 Cor. xiii. 1 in relation to its context is scarcely less objectionable.

At all events, admitting Mr Stanley's explanations as possible, it must seem strange that the Apostle should *twice* have veiled his mention of his designed visit under language which applies at least as well (in 2 Cor. xiii. 1, *τρίτον τοῦτο ἐρχομαι*, far better) to an actual visit, and in both cases have introduced

it in a manner which so rudely interrupts the obvious train of thought.

On the other hand, 1 Cor. xvi. 7 has been unjustifiably pressed into the service. The words *οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἔρρι ἐν παρόδῳ ἰδεῖν* have been interpreted "I will not *now* pay you a passing visit;" implying that he had done so before, and, as St Paul on his first visit to Achaia stayed eighteen months (Acts xviii. 11), necessarily alluding to a second and shorter visit. Against this Meyer alleges the order of the words, and de Wette repeats this argument. So far as I can see, the order would admit this interpretation well enough, and Wieseler (Chron. p. 240) has a right to make use of the passage in spite of this protest. The real objection seems to be that the natural, if not the necessary, antithesis to *ἔρρι* "just now" (when used of present time) is the future, and not the past. On this ground I should object to Mr Stanley's explanation, "now according to my present, as distinguished from my late intention."

† 1 Cor. v. 9. *Ἐγὼ παρὰ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μὴ συναναμύγνυσθαι πόρνοις*; but as undue weight has been assigned

probably in this lost letter that he informed them of the design, which he at this time entertained but was afterwards obliged to abandon, of paying them a double visit, on his way to and return from Macedonia (1 Cor. xvi. 5; 2 Cor. i. 15).

How long an interval elapsed before St Paul again communicated with the Corinthian Christians, we cannot ascertain; but it was towards the close of his stay at Ephesus, that he despatched Timotheus through Macedonia on his way to Corinth, though apparently with some apprehensions that he might not reach that city, and not long after addressed a second letter to them—the First Epistle of our Canon. This he placed in the hands of certain brethren, whom he expected to arrive at Corinth a little before or at any rate not later than Timotheus, (1 Cor. xvi. 10—12,) so that they might return

to these words, as showing that a previous letter had been written, it will be as well to see how far they favour such a view. (1) No such conclusion can be drawn from the aorist *ἔγραψα*. That this word is frequently used in reference to the letter in which it occurs, any concordance will show; I must also confess myself unable to discern the latent 'philosophical' objections to its being so employed, even at the commencement of a letter (Davidson, *Introd.* ii. p. 139); the grammar, at all events, seems unexceptionable. Cf. *Martyr. Polyc. c. 1*: *ἔγράψαμεν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντας*, where the words occur immediately after the salutation. (2) It is unnecessary to accumulate instances to show that *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ* may refer to the letter itself. (3) It has been found difficult to explain the allusion by anything which has preceded. This difficulty must be allowed: verses 2, 6, 8, do not supply what is wanted: but is it necessary to seek any reference beyond the passage itself? would it not be quite in accordance with this epistolary usage of the aorist to look for the explanation in the same sentence, so that the corresponding English to the words *ἔγραψα ὑμῶν μὴ συναναμνησθαι*, would be, "I write to you not to keep

company"?

The only substantial argument in favour of a previous letter seems to be contained in the words *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, which are quite superfluous in reference to the First Epistle itself, and the comparison with 2 Cor. vii. 8 makes the allusion to a previous letter even more evident. This argument appears to be insuperable.

I suppose that the Chev. Bunsen's 'Restoration' of the 'Former Epistle of Peter' will carry conviction to few German and still fewer English minds (*Hippol. i. p. 24, Ed. 2, Anal. Anten. i. p. 35 sqq.*), but it is perhaps worth while observing how completely his argument founded on 1 Pet. v. 12, *δι' ὁλίγων ἔγραψα*, which he finds it necessary to refer to a former and shorter letter, is met by such passages as *Hebr. xiii. 22, διὰ βραχείων ἐπέστειλα ὑμῶν*, *Ignat. (?) ad Polyc. c. vii. (shorter Greek) δι' ὁλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκδλεσα*. For not only is the aorist used in both these passages, in a way which M. Bunsen seems to think inadmissible, but the writers have also ventured to characterize their epistles as brief, though they considerably exceed in length that to which he considers such a term inappropriate.



together, and rejoin the Apostle in company. Have we any means of discovering who these brethren were?

It seems more than probable in the first place, that Timotheus never reached Corinth, but was detained in Macedonia so long, that he had not advanced beyond this point, when he was overtaken by St Paul on his way from Ephesus to Achaia. At all events he must have been in St Paul's company when the Second Epistle was written, as his name appears in the salutation, and there are sufficient grounds for concluding that this Epistle was sent from Macedonia. But there are numerous reasons for supposing that this was the limit of Timotheus' journey. In the *first* place: St Paul himself in announcing this projected visit of Timotheus to Corinth, has evidently some misgivings as to its fulfilment, and consequently speaks of it as uncertain, *ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος* (1 Cor. xvi. 10). Probably he foresaw circumstances which would detain his missionary on the way. *Secondly*, Timotheus is represented in the Acts (xix. 22) as being sent with Erastus into Macedonia, as if the sacred historian were not aware of his journey being continued to Corinth. *Thirdly*: if Timotheus had actually visited Corinth, he must have brought back some information as to the state of the Church there; and, if he arrived, as was expected, subsequently to the receipt of the First Epistle, he must also have been able to report on a subject which lay nearest to the Apostle's heart—the manner in which his letter was received by the Corinthian Christians. But we do not find this to have been the case. For while in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians St Paul dwells at great length on information derived from another source—the epistle in fact arising entirely out of this—there is not the slightest inkling of any knowledge obtained through Timotheus on any subject whatever. And *fourthly*, in one passage where St Paul is enumerating visits recently paid to the Corinthians by the Apostle himself or by his accredited messengers, the name of Timotheus does not occur, though it could scarcely have been passed over in such a connexion (2 Cor. xii. 17, 18).

For these reasons we may infer with extreme probability, that Timotheus finding it advisable to prolong his stay in Macedonia was prevented from carrying out his original intention of visiting Achaia, before he joined St Paul. For, though each of these arguments separately is far from conclusive, they

seem when combined to form such a body of circumstantial evidence, as fully to justify this verdict. Again, if this conclusion be admitted, it simplifies the problem, and the subsequent communications of the Apostle with the Church of Corinth become easily explicable. This consideration is of course not without weight.

On the other hand attempts have been made to impugn some of these arguments. It will be as well to dispose of these before proceeding.

In answer to the *second* argument, it has been maintained that the journey of Timotheus to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22) was different from and subsequent to his mission to Corinth. If such a method of reconciling the accounts can in any way be avoided, it should not be resorted to. The philosopher's rule with entities should be the historian's with facts. They should not be unnecessarily multiplied. Here so far is there from being any necessity, that it is not easy to account for these repeated journeys, which moreover in some degree perplex the chronology, there being a difficulty in compressing all the events within the given time.

In the statement on which my *third* argument is based, I am at issue with Wieseler (Chron. p. 58,) in a matter of fact. I can therefore only state the case and leave it for the judgment of others. He argues thus:—The language with which the Epistle opens (i. 12—ii. 11) was evidently prompted by St Paul's distress at the opposition which his former letter had occasioned. Now this language describes his state of mind before the arrival of Titus. Therefore some other messenger must have reached him meanwhile from Corinth. Who can this messenger have been but Timotheus? With Wieseler's hypothesis as to the composition of the Second Epistle, built upon the argument here given, I have no concern. The argument itself too is unexceptionable, if the premise be once allowed. But does not his statement arise from an entire misconception? I believe ordinary readers will discern no such traces of tidings received before the arrival of Titus. They will read in the opening of the Second Epistle nothing more than the vague apprehensions and misgivings, which would naturally arise in the Apostle's mind as to the manner in which a condemnatory letter, expressed in such fearless and uncompromising language—written moreover

in much affliction and anguish of spirit (2 Cor. ii. 4.)—would be received in a community where the most flagrant irregularities prevailed, and where his own apostolic authority was denied by a considerable number, and perverted to factious purposes by others. Surely the language would have been far different; his fears would have been far more clearly defined, if he had actually received tidings; especially if these tidings had been brought by a messenger as trustworthy as Timotheus.

The *fourth* argument has been answered on the supposition that St Paul in 2 Cor. xii. 17, 18 is only speaking of those who took part in the collection of alms, and that, as the mission of Timotheus was quite independent of any such object, his name is properly omitted. But where does it appear that the list of names is so restricted? The word ἐπλεονέκτησεν, judging from the context, seems to refer rather to the abuse of the Corinthians' hospitality, than to the gathering of the contributions. Meyer again accounts for the omission of Timotheus' name on the ground that only the most recent visits to Corinth are here alluded to. Yet granting that his view is true, as probably it is, still the visit of Timotheus must have preceded that of Titus by a few weeks at most, and could not have been omitted on this account. The same able critic even considers, that any mention at all of Timotheus in the third person would be quite out of place, (on 2 Cor. xii. 18, cf. Einl. § 1) when his name is found in the superscription of the letter; and Mr Alford urges the same argument, though less strongly (Vol. ii. Prol. p. 56). It is a sufficient reply to Meyer to observe, that, whether out of place or not, it is what St Paul has done elsewhere, (e.g. 1 Thess. iii. 3, 6,) and what therefore he might be supposed to do here.

On the other hand, the direct arguments which have been employed by those who consider it improbable that Timotheus should have abandoned his design, do not seem to have much force. Mr Alford for instance considers the purpose of his mission as stated in 1 Cor. iv. 17, to be "too plain and precise to be lightly given up." That the mission should have been entirely abandoned, is certainly unlikely. That it should have been transferred to other hands, when it was found incompatible with the discharge of Timotheus' duties in Macedonia, so far from being an improbable supposition, seems to commend itself



by its very probability. Again it is suggested by Meyer, and here too Mr Alford endorses the suggestion, that the abandonment of the intended journey of Timotheus would have furnished another handle for the charge of fickleness against St Paul, and that we should have found the charge rebutted in the Second Epistle. This reason will probably not be considered of sufficient weight to counterbalance the amount of evidence on the other side. For if we take into account, that the charge would lie primarily at the door of Timotheus, and not of the Apostle himself—that St Paul in announcing the design had expressed some doubts as to the possibility of its fulfilment—that the objects of the mission were not abandoned when it was found impossible for Timotheus to carry them out—and lastly, that the messengers sent by St Paul in his stead had a satisfactory explanation to offer to the Corinthians of this change of purpose—we can hardly suppose that the most captious of St Paul's enemies would have thought it worth their while to employ such a lame expedient to injure his credit. In short, this case is no parallel at all to the circumstance of which his opponents did avail themselves to bring him into disrepute (2 Cor. i. 17).

On the whole then, so far from finding anything conflicting in the evidence with regard to this mission of Timotheus, it seems that combining the hint of the possible abandonment of the design in the First Epistle, the account of the journey to *Macedonia* in the Acts, and the silence maintained with regard to any visit to Corinth or any definite information received thence through Timotheus in the Second Epistle, we discover an 'undesigned coincidence' of a striking kind; and that it is therefore a fair and reasonable conclusion that the visit was never paid.

By whom then was this mission fulfilled? At the close of the First Epistle (xvi. 11, 12,) certain 'brethren' are mentioned, who appear to have been the bearers of the letter, and whom St Paul expected to rejoin him in company with Timotheus. The Apostle had urged Apollos to accompany this mission to Corinth, (v. 12,) but he for reasons easily intelligible had declined, considering that his visit would be unseasonable. Now there is no mention of the names of these brethren in the First Epistle, but we find St Paul subsequently after his departure from Ephesus at Troas

awaiting the return of Titus from Corinth with tidings of the reception of his letter there (2 Cor. ii. 12), and falling in with him at length in Macedonia (2 Cor. vii. 6). From this we might have supposed that Titus was alone. But from another allusion to this mission in the Second Epistle we find he was accompanied by a 'brother,' whose name is not given (2 Cor. xii. 18)\*. What more probable than that Titus and 'the brother' accompanying him of the Second Epistle, are 'the brethren' of the First?

But why is Titus not mentioned by name? Might we not rather ask, why he should be so mentioned? His name never occurs in the Acts. His influence on the interests of the Church at large was probably not so great as that of Tychicus or Trophimus, certainly not as that of Apollos or Timotheus. He is brought into prominent notice in reference to the Churches of Corinth and Crete in particular; but we should doubtless be wrong in judging of his position in the Christian Church by the special importance with which he is invested in regard to individual communities. The fact that an Epistle of St Paul bears his name leads us almost unconsciously to assign a rank to him which he probably did not hold in the estimation of his contemporaries. Titus then does not appear to have had a church-wide reputation at this time, and there is no reason to suppose that he was known specially to the Christians at Corinth. If so, the omission of his name presents no difficulty, and it is in accordance with St Paul's manner to speak thus of his fellow-labourers (2 Cor. viii. 18, 22). No doubt Titus' strength of character was well known to the Apostle when he despatched him upon this difficult mission, but it only approved itself to the Corinthians during his stay among them; and his earnestness and devotion while there, raised him so far above his colleague, that St Paul in writing to the Corinthians subsequently speaks in such a manner as to show that 'the brother' who accompanied him had sunk by his side into comparative insignificance.

Titus then, we may suppose, had been selected by St Paul as

\* I am at a loss to discover why Mr Stanley says, "This mission was composed of Titus and *two* other brethren," (on 1 Cor. xvi. 12). The Syriac version indeed in 2 Cor. xii. 18, reads the plural "the brethren," (I assume this to be the case on Mr Stanley's authority,

though I have not found any confirmation), but this has evidently arisen from a confusion with the subsequent mission, mentioned 2 Cor. viii. 16. Mr Stanley does not give his reasons elsewhere (2 Cor. viii. 16; xii. 18).

one of the bearers of the letter, that in the event of Timotheus being unable to prosecute his mission to Corinth, it might be fulfilled by one who would act in the same loving and devoted spirit. But there is one link yet to be supplied. How did Titus communicate with Timotheus? How was it known that Timotheus would be detained in Macedonia? Here we are left to mere conjecture; but it seems not improbable that Titus and his companion took the less direct route to Achaia by way of Macedonia. They certainly returned that way, and there was, as far as we can see, no more reason for haste in the one case than in the other. And if it was the apprehension of danger which deterred them from crossing the open sea at that early season of the year, they would have much more cause to entertain such fears on their journey thither than on their return, when the season was farther advanced. Probably the greater security of the indirect route was thought to compensate for the advantage in point of time, gained by sailing straight across the *Ægean*\*; while the opportunity of communicating with Timotheus would be an additional motive in influencing their choice.

If the view here taken be correct, it will overthrow all Wieseler's chronological results with regard to the interval between the writing of the First and Second Epistles. The facts are few and lead to no satisfactory conclusion; but as far as they go, they do not conflict with anything I have advanced.

The data for determining the relative chronology of this period are these; (1) St Paul stayed at Ephesus 'for a season' after sending Timotheus into Macedonia, (*ἐπέσχευ χρόνον*, Acts xix. 22). (2) Timotheus had left before the First Epistle was written (1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10). (3) There is an allusion which makes it not improbable that the First Epistle was written shortly before Easter (1 Cor. v. 7, 8). (4) St Paul here declares his intention of setting out to visit Corinth quickly (iv. 19). (5) We also learn from the same source, that he expected to stay at Ephesus till Pentecost (xvi. 8): and lastly (6) there is

\* The movements of St Paul in the following spring threw some light on this point. He had intended to sail direct from Corinth to Syria. His departure however was hastened by the discovery of a conspiracy against him,

and he went by way of Macedonia, apparently on account of the early season of the year. He left Philippi *μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀθύρων* (Acts xx. 6). Cf. Conybeare and Howson, ii. p. 206.



reason to suppose that he was subsequently led to hasten his departure. It is not evident indeed that his life was endangered by the tumult at Ephesus\*, but such an outbreak must have interfered with his preaching, and rendered his further stay there useless. At all events the language of St Luke places his departure in immediate connexion with this disturbance, in such a manner as scarcely to leave a doubt that it was determined by this circumstance (Acts xix. 41; xx. 1). It is probable therefore, that he left before he had intended; and this explains another incident. We find St Paul, after his hurried departure from Ephesus, expecting to meet Titus at Troas, and when he was disappointed of this hope, advancing into Macedonia, where he was ultimately joined by him. Wieseler (Chron. p. 59) uses this as an argument, that St Paul's departure cannot have taken place much earlier than he had originally intended; for otherwise he could not have expected to find Titus so soon at the place of meeting determined upon. This seems to be a mistake. There is no reason for supposing that they had agreed to meet at Troas. The true state of the case appears to be this. St Paul had intended to await the return of Titus and his colleague at Ephesus. Subsequently being obliged to hasten his departure, he calculated they would have advanced as far as Troas before they met. In this calculation he proved to be wrong.

If this view be correct, the hurried departure from Ephesus will obviously not affect the chronological question, which thus assumes a very simple form. We have the period from the writing of the First Epistle, shortly before Easter, (if we may lay so much stress on a doubtful allusion) till after the feast of Pentecost, when St Paul expected to leave Ephesus, for the

\* Wieseler considers it necessary to bring Timotheus back from Macedonia to Ephesus, because the plural in 2 Cor. i. 8 seems to show that he shared the danger with St Paul on the occasion of the outbreak. The question of the use of the plural is beset with difficulties; but, waiving this, the language of St Paul (*θλίψεως, ἐβάρηθημεν, ἐξ απορηθήναι*) must refer to something more than the mere momentary danger arising from the uproar. St Paul seems to

have been subjected to a continuous persecution at Ephesus, which must have begun before the departure of Timotheus, and may have been shared by him. St Paul speaks in the First Epistle of his many adversaries (xvi. 8), and compares his struggles at Ephesus to a contest with wild beasts in the arena (xv. 32). It is strange that *ἐθνησιμαχίᾳ* should ever have been understood literally, when the same image is used 1 Cor. iv. 9, *ὡς ἐπιθανάτους, ὅτι θέarton ἐγενήθημεν*.

double journey of Titus, to Corinth and back. I have supposed that he went and returned by way of Macedonia. Even assuming that he travelled from Macedonia to Achaia by land, the interval is sufficiently great. Hug (Introd. ii. p. 381) calculates the single journey from Corinth to Ephesus at thirty-one days, but then he allows a wide margin which is quite superfluous. But, if it be thought that in this case more time would be required, we may suppose that Titus took ship at some port of Macedonia, (Thessalonica for instance) as St Paul seems to have done on one occasion on leaving Berea (Acts xvii. 14; Wieseler's Chron. pp. 42, 43), and returned the same way. This would be a considerable saving of time, and the perils of the open sea would in great measure be avoided.

J. B. LIGHTFOOT.

## Adversaria.

### I. *Novarum lectionum et emendationum Specimen, in Xenophonte Ephesio, Charitone, Heliodoro, Achille Tatío.*

(Continued from page 96.)

#### Xenophon Ephesius.

Lib. I. c. ix. m. Habrocomæ Anthia ἄπαν τὸ πρόσωπον ἡσπάζετο, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν κόμην τοῖς αὐτῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς προσετίθει καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τὰ χεῖλη τοῖς χεῖλεσι φιλοῦσα συνερραφῆκει, καὶ ὅσα ἐνεκύνον, διὰ τῶν χειλέων ἐκ ψυχῆς εἰς τὴν θατέρου ψυχὴν διὰ τοῦ φιλήματος παρεπέμπετο. Cod. συνηρμόκει pro misera voce συνερραφῆκει.

Ib. fin. μέλλοντας εἰς μακρὸν ἐμπεσεῖν πλοῦν. Cod. ἐμπεσεῖσθαι.

Lib. II. c. III. in. Αὕτη ἡ Μαντῶ ἐκ τῆς συνήθους τοῦ Ἀβροκόμου διαίτης ἀλίσκεται καὶ ἀκατασχέτως εἶχε κ.τ.έ. Cod. μετὰ τοῦ Ἀβροκ.

Ib. c. VI. fin. Barbarus Apsyrtus filiam credens vera dicere, quæ Habrocomen accusaverat ὡς ἐπείρασε τὴν παρθενίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφανίσαι, jubet servos φέρειν πῦρ καὶ μάστιγας καὶ παίειν τὸ μειράκιον. Ἦν δὲ τὸ θέαμα ἐλεεινόν· αἱ τε γὰρ βάσανοι τὸ σῶμα πᾶν ἡφάνιζον, βασάνων ἄηθες ὃν οἰκετικῶν, τό τε αἷμα κατέρρει, καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐμαραίνετο. Προσῆγεν αὐτῷ καὶ δεσμὰ φοβερὰ καὶ πῦρ καὶ μάλιστα ἐχρήτο ταῖς βασάνοις κατ' αὐτοῦ, τῷ νυμφίῳ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι σῶφρονα παρθένον ἔξεται. In cod. αἱ τε γὰρ . . . τὸ σῶμα; spatium relictum est 4 litterarum; manus sec. inserunt βάσανοι, idem adscriptum in margine; Cobetus itaque supplet πληγαί. Pro ἔξεται cod. recte ἄξεται.

Lib. III. c. VIII. fin. Anthia, quæ credebatur esse mortua, sepelitur; in sepulchro in vitam cedit; prædones sepulcrum spoliaturi aperiunt, quos illa, πολλὰ ἐδεῖτο, ἄνδρες, οἵτινές ποτ' ἐστε, λέγουσα—φείσασθε τοῦ σώματος—Ναὶ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τῶν πατρῶων ὑμῶν, μή με ἡμέρα δείξητε, τὴν ἄξια νυκτὸς καὶ σκότους δυστυχοῦσαν. Cod. addit ποτέ, pro τῶν θ. τῶν πατρ. ὑμῶν habet πρὸς θεῶν αὐτῶν τῶν πατρῶων ὑμῖν.

Ib. c. XII. m. Οὗτος ὁ Ἄραξος εἶχε γυναῖκα ὀφθῆναι μιαν—Κυνὸ τοῦνομα. Αὕτη ἡ Κυνὸ ἐρᾷ τοῦ Ἀβροκόμου εὐθὺς ἀχθέντος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ οὐκέτι κατεῖχε· δεινὴ καὶ ἐρασθῆναι καὶ ἀπολαύειν ἐβέλει τῆς ἐπιθυμίας. Cod. ἐθέλειν.



Lib. IV. c. II. m. ἐμπίπτει δ' Ἀβροκόμης (cruci adnexus) τῷ ρεύματι, καὶ ἐφέρετο οὔτε τοῦ ὕδατος αὐτὸν ἀδικούντος, οὔτε τῶν δεσμῶν ἐμποδιζόντων, οὔτε τῶν θηρίων παραβλαπτόντων, ἀλλὰ παραπέμποντος τοῦ ρεύματος· φερόμενος δ' εἰς τὰς ἐμβολὰς δέχεται τὰς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τοῦ Νείλου κ.τ.έ. Cod. ἔρχεται pro δέχεται uti jam Hemsterh. emendaverat.

Ib. c. I. fin. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ ληστήριον ἀνδρῶν πεντακοσίων. Cod. ἀνῶν id est ἀνθρώπων.

Lib. V. c. I. m. Senex quidam Habrocomæ amores suos narrat, νέος ἡράσθην—κόρης πολιτίδος, Θελεξινόης τοῦνομα.—Καὶ τῇ πόλει παννυχίδος ἀγομένης, συνήλθομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀμφοτέρους ὁδηγουμένοι θεοῦ καὶ ἀπελαύσαμεν, ὧν ἔνεκα συνήλθομεν. Cod. recte ὁδηγουντο id est ὁδηγούντος. Nonnullis interjectis, pergit senex ταύτη οὖν αἰε τε (τε cod. addit) ὡς ζώσῃ λαλῶ καὶ συγκατακείμει—οὐ γὰρ οἷα νῦν ὁράται σοι, τοιαύτη φαίνεται μοι· ἀλλ' ἐννοῶ τέκνον, οἷα μὲν ἦν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι, οἷα δ' ἐν τῇ φυγῇ· τὰς παννυχίδας ἐννοῶ. Cod. adjicit τὰς συνθήκας ἐννοῶ.

Ib. c. IV. fin. Διασημότατον (Apidis templum) ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς βουλομένοις μαντεύει. Ἐπειδὴν γάρ τις προσελθὼν εὔξεται, καὶ δεῖθῃ τοῦ θεοῦ, αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξεισιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ θεοῦ Αἰγύπτιοι ἅ μὲν καταλογάδην, ἅ δ' ἐν μέτρῳ προλέγουσι τῶν ἐσομένων ἕκαστα. Cod. περὶ τοῦ νεῶ (lege τὸν νεῶν) παῖδες Αἰγύπτιοι κ.τ.έ.

Ib. c. VIII. Queritur Habrocomes, ἰδοῦ,—Ἀνθαῖα—ὁ σὸς Ἀβροκόμης ἐργάτης τέχνης πονήρας καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὑποτέλεια δουλείᾳ· καὶ εἰ μὲν εἶχόν τινα ἐλπίδα εὐρήσειν τε καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ συγκαταβιώσσεσθαι, τοῦτο πάντων ἄμεινον με παρεμυθεῖτο. Ex ΠΑΝΤΩΝΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ corrigendum videtur ΠΑΝΤΩΝΑΝΤΩΝΔΕΙΝΩΝ, ubi librarius unum ἀντῶν omiserit.

Ib. c. XIII. m. Ὡς δ' εἶδον ἀλλήλους (Habr. et Anthia) εἰς γῆν κατηνέχθησαν· κατεῖχε δ' αὐτοὺς πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα πάθη, ἡδονή, λύπη, φόβος, ἢ τῶν προτέρων μνήμη, τὸ τῶν μελλόντων δέος. Cod. κατεῖχε δ' αὐτοὺς πολλὰ ἅμα πάθη κ.τ.έ.

### Chariton.

Lib. I. c. IV. m. Falso accusat aliquis invidia ductus Callirhoën adulterii, paratumque se dicebat adulterum sistere; cui Chæreas, δυστυχῇ μὲν αἰτῶ παρὰ σοῦ χάριν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τῶν ἡμῶν κακῶν, ὁ μὲν δὲ δεῖξαι, ὅπως εὐλογώτερον ἔμεινεν ἀνέλῳ. Cod. τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν, ὅμως δὲ δεῖξον.

Ib. fin. Hoc drama jam agitur; pseudoadulter vesperi Callirhoës domum intrat, quod Chæreas (domum observans) θεασάμενος οὐκέτι κατέσχευεν ἀλλ' εἰσέδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ τὸν μοιχὸν ἀναιρήσων. ὁ δὲ ἔλθων παρὰ τὴν αὔλειον θύραν ὑποστάς, εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθεν. Cod. ἀναιρήσων.

ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὰ κ.τ.έ. Paucis interjectis Καλλιρρόη—ἄφρονος καὶ ἄπνους ἐπέκειτο κ.τ.έ. Cod. ἔκειτο.

Ib. c. v. fin. Οἱ μὲν οὖν δικασταὶ τὴν ἀπολύουσιν ψῆφον ἀνέθεσαν. Cod. ἔθεσαν.

Ib. c. vi. fin. Callirrhoë, quam credebant diem obiisse, efferitur; ἔφερον δὲ τὴν κλίνην οἱ Συρακοσίων ἔφηβοι, καὶ ἐπηκολούθει τὸ πλῆθος. τούτων δὲ θρηγῶν μάλιστα Χαιρέας ἠκούετο. Cod. θρηγούντων.

Ib. c. ix. fin. Illa in sepulcro jacens reviviscit; prædones et hic sepulcrum aperiunt, quorum ducem Theronem Callirrhoë sic alloquitur, ἐλέησον, ὅστις ποτ' εἴ. τὴν οὐκ ἐλεηθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ γονέων μὴ ἀποκτείνης ἣν σέσωκας μᾶλλον. ἐθάρσυνεν ὁ Θήρων, καὶ οἷα δεινὸς ἀνὴρ, ἐνοήσε τὴν ἀλήθειαν. In egregia Reiskii versione hæc ita vertuntur. "Ne perimas quam servas te magis. Theroni sic animus rediit." Sed distinguendum ante μᾶλλον et vertendum, "Theroni animus accessit."

Ib. c. xi. m. οἱ λησταὶ νήσους μικρὰς καὶ πολλὰς παρέπλεον κ.τ.έ. Cod. καὶ πόλεις.

Ib. c. xii. m. Prædones Miletum tendunt; navis appellitur; Theron cum duobus amicis in urbem currit ut emtorem captivæ Callirrhoës quærat et furtorum reliquorum; hic ille ad se "ἀνόητος εἶ, ὦ Θήρων, ἀπολέλοιπας γὰρ ἤδη τυσάταις ἡμέραις ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, ὥς μόνος ληστής. οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι τὴν θάλατταν καὶ ἄλλοι πλέουσι πειραταί. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φοβοῦμαι, μὴ καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς ἀποπλεύσωσιν. Οὐδέπω γὰρ τοὺς δικαιοτάτους ἐστρατολόγησας, ἵνα σοι τὴν πίστιν φυλάττωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἄνδρας, ὧν ἤδεις. Quemadmodum Reiskius vertit. "Neque enim profecto viros conscripsisti summæ probitatis et justitiæ, qui fidem tibi servant integram sed bipedum, quos nosti, nequissimos." Hoc ipsum, dico, in cod. legitur, οὐ δῆπου γάρ.

Lib. II. c. iii. m. ἀλλὰ δὲ τῇ ἔφ, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἵππων ἐπέβη. Cod. ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἔφ uti Abreschius correxerat.

Ib. c. v. Callirrhoë a Dionysii ministro emta in agro degit; cui una ex reliquis ancillabus persuadere conatur ut Veneris templum adeat, ibique Dionysio dicat quænam sit. Ἀκούσασα μὲν οὖν ἐβάδιζεν ἡ Καλλιρρόη, θαρροῦσα δ' ὅμως διὰ τὸ ἐν ἱερῷ γενήσεσθαι τὴν ὁμιλίαν αὐτοῦς. Cod. ἄκουσα μὲν οὖν.

Lib. III. c. iii. m. Prædones domum redeunt, θαλαττεύοντες δὲ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ κατέστησαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ ποτοῦ—οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔθνησκον ὑπὸ δίψης. Theron solus non moritur:

τὸ δὲ ὄρα τῆς προνοίας ὀργὴν βασάνοις καὶ σταύροις τὸν ἄνδρα τηρούσης.  
Cod. τὸ δὲ ἄρα τῆς προνοίας ἔργον ἦν, uti Abreschius emendaverat.

Ib. c. VIII. ἀγωνιώσα ἡ Καλλιρρόη, μὴ προδοθῇ τὸ ἀπόρρητον αὐτῆς,  
ῥξίωσεν ἐλευθερωθῆναι Πλαγγόνα, τὴν μόνην αὐτῇ συνειδυῖαν, ὅτι πρὸς Διονύσιον  
ἦλθεν ἐγκύμων, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῆς γνώμης ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἔχῃ χάρις τὸν  
παρ' αὐτῆς. Cod. ἔχῃ τὸ πιστὸν π. αὐτῆς.

Lib. IV. c. IV. in. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν (Mithridates) ἔδωκεν  
"Υγίνω, τῷ πιστοτάτῳ,—παραγυμνωθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔρωτα· ἔγραψε δὲ  
καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς Καλλιρρόην, εὖνοιαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῇ καὶ κηδεμονίαν, ὅτι δι'  
ἐκείνην Χαίρεαν ἔσωσε καὶ συμβουλευέων μὴ ὑβρίσαι τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα, ὑπισ-  
χνόμενος αὐτόσε στρατηγήσειν ὅπως ἀλλήλους ἀπολάβωσιν κ.τ.έ. Ad παρα-  
γυμνωθεὶς vir doctus adnotat "quamvis usitatus sit παραγυμνωθεὶς,  
ferre tamen potest . . . ωσθεὶς aor. I pass. quoque vicem medii  
habent, qui sæpissime alternant." Sed codex habet παραγυμνώσας!  
Pro αὐτόσε cod. αὐτός.

Ib. c. VII. fin. Callirrhoë μέγα εἶχε παραμύθιον καὶ τὸν Χαίρεον  
τάφον ἐκείνον. Cod. ἐκέῖ.

Lib. V. c. III. m. Callirrhoën videntes barbari percussi ita  
ut non amplius crederent Rhodogunen adesse, quæ et ipsa se  
victam agnoscens, καὶ μήτε ἀπελθεῖν δυναμένη, μήτε ἐκλείπεσθαι θέλουσα,  
ὑπέδν τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ τῆς Καλλιρρόης. Ad ἐκλείπεσθαι Abreschius  
adnotavit "ἐκλ. esse hic *obscurari* et metaphoram petitam a sole  
qui eclipsin patietur." Cod. βλέπεσθαι.

Ib. V. c. II. m. Mithridates adulterii accusatus apud regem  
causam agere jubetur; μόνος δὲ γενόμενος ἐκάλεσε Χαίρεαν, καὶ ἔφη πρὸς  
αὐτόν· "Εγὼ καίομαι, καὶ ἀποδοῦναί σοι θελήσας Καλλιρρόην ἐγκαλοῦμαι·  
τὴν γὰρ σὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν ἔγραψας πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, Διονύσιος ἐμὲ φησὶ  
γεγραφέναι κ.τ.έ. Legendum "Εγὼ κρίνομαι id est, "dies mihi dicetur  
et me criminantur quod reddere tibi Callirrhoën volui."

Lib. VII. c. I. in. Ταχέως τοῖνον ὀρμήσαντες ἐδίωκον βασιλέα, προσ-  
ποιούμενοι ἐθέλιν ἐκείνῳ συστρατεύεσθαι—κατέλαβον δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τῷ  
ποταμῷ καὶ προσμίξαντες τοῖς ὀρنيθοφύλαξι ἠκολούθουν, id est "depre-  
hendunt exercitum apud fluvium et sequuntur avium custodibus  
immixti." Avium custodes in malam rem abeant, cod. ὀπισθο-  
φύλαξι id est extremi agminis custodes.

Ib. c. III. m. Chæreas στρατιὰν ἡρέυνα εἴτινες εἶεν "Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ  
στρατοπέδῳ. Cod. Chær. πρῶτον ἀνηρέυνα,

Lib. VIII. c. I. fin. ἐπεὶ δ' αἰλις μὲν δακρύων καὶ διηγημάτων κ.τ.έ.  
Cod. αἰλις ἦν δ. κ. τ.έ.



Ib. c. iv. Callirrhoë Stateræ valedicens “ μέμνησό μου, inquit, —συνίστημι σοὶ τὸ τέκνον μου, ὃ καὶ σὺ ἡδέως εἶδες, νόμιζε ἐκείνο παραθήκην (l. παρακαταθήκη) ἔχειν αὐτῆς ἐμοῦ.” Cod. ἀντ’ ἐμοῦ.

Ib. c. iv. Dionysius queritur, ἀπώλεσέ με καινὴ ζηλοτυπία καὶ βαβυλών. Cod. κενὴ ζ. καὶ σὺ, B.

Ib. c. vi. m. Hermocrates Callirrhoë filia conspecta, ζῆς, τέκνον, ἡ καὶ τοῦτο πέπλάνημαι.—Δάκρυα πᾶσιν ἐχείτο μετὰ χαρᾶς. μεταξὺ δὲ Πολύχαρμος ἐπικαταπλεῖ ταῖς ἄλλαις τριήρεσιν. ἄλλος γὰρ ἦν πεπιστευμένος τὸν ἄλλον στόλον ἀπὸ Κύπρου κ.τ.έ. Cod. αὐτὸς γὰρ κ.τ.έ.

### *Heliodori Æthiopica.*

Lib. I. c. i. m. ὁ δ’ αἰγιαλὸς μεστὰ πάντα σωμάτων νεοσφαγῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄρδην ἀπολωλότων, τῶν δ’ ἡμιθνήτων, καὶ μέρεσι τῶν σωμάτων ἔτι σπαιρόντων κ.τ.έ. Orationem paullo negligentiores esse putant interpretes in μεστὰ πάντα; A recte μεστὸς ἅπας. Pro μέρεσι κ.τ.έ. Hemsterhus. bene μελεσι ἔτι σπαίρουσι.

Ib. c. vii. in. Prædones, Chariclea capta, ad suos redeunt, qui illis obviam fiunt, καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης θεοσπέσιόν τι χρῆμα περισκοποῦντες, ἱερὰ τινὰ ἢ ναοὺς πολυχρύσους ἀποσεσυλησθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοτέχων ὑπελάμβανον, προσαφηρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰέρειαν αὐτὴν, ἡ καὶ αὐτὸ ἔμπουνον μετῆχθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τῆς κόρης ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας εἵκαζον. Codd. Pal. et Vatic. cum Taurin. et AB ὑπ’ ἀγροικίας.

Ib. c. x. m. Demæneta conjugī, ὁ θαυμαστὸς, φησὶ, καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ νεανίας, ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν παῖς, ὃν ἐγὼ πλέον καὶ σοῦ πολλάκις ἠγάπησα κ.τ.έ. Quid significant θαυμαστὸς εἰς ἐμὲ et ἀγαπᾶν πολλάκις? Sed recte καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ et πολλάκις desunt in A.

Ib. c. xii. m. λύχνου τέ τινος ἔνδοθεν αὐγὴ διεξέπιπτε κ.τ.έ. Sic recte AB pro ἔνδον.

Ib. c. xiii. fin. εἰ μητρὸς ἢ μητρυνὰ πάθος ἐπεισδεῖκνται. A ἐπι-δεῖκνται.

Ib. c. xxv. fin. Theagenes Charicleæ, τί οὖν ἐβούλετό σοι τὰ τῆς καλῆς δημηγορίας; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀδελφόν με σαυτῆς ἀναπλάττειν σοφὸν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ζηλοτυπίας ἀπάγον κ.τ.έ. B ζηλοτ. τῆς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἀπ. quod bene observandum, quum cæteroquin hujusmodi constructio apud reliquos eroticos occurrat: sed multis etiam in locis apud aureæ ætatis scriptores talia transponenda, quæ intrusa a librariis senioris ævi.

Ib. c. xxix. διαδρᾶσαι. Vat. διαδρᾶναι.

Lib. II. c. XIX. in. Jurant Th. et Char. μήποτ' ἀπολείψειν ἐκόντες κ.τ.έ. AB ἀπολ. ἀλλήλους ἐκόντες.

Ib. c. XX. Cnemon βουλόμενος καθεύδειν ἀπνήχετο τοῦθ' ὃ ἐβούλετο, χαλεπωτέροις ὀνείροις τῆς ἀληθείας ἐντυγχάνων κ.τ.έ. Electione Pal. codicis, ἀπνήχετο rectissime Commelinus et Canterus ἀπνήχετο eruerunt, quod ipsum AB habent.

Ib. c. XXI. in. Pro οὐκ ὄνειδος, ἐπειδὴ Ἑλληνι ζοικας ἀνδρὶ κ.τ.έ. AB cum Vat. et Taur. recte οὐκοῦν, ἧ δ' ὅς ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.έ.

Ib. c. XXXI. m. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ἢ τῆς κόρης ἀκμῇ καὶ μείζονος ὥρας ἐφαντάζετο τοῦ εἰωθότος κ.τ.έ. A ἀκμῇ μείζων, ὡς ὀρᾶς, ἐφ.

Lib. III. c. VI. fin. ἦδετο τούτοις ὁ Χαρικλῆς—καὶ μειδιάσας, Πορεύομαι νῦν ὡς αὐτὴν (sic AB), ἔλεγεν. εἰδέ σοι φίλον, συμπροθυμήθητι κ.τ.έ. AB pro ultima voce recte συμπορεύθητι.

Ib. c. V. fin. καὶ τὴν δᾶδα ὀλκότερον ἢ μὲν ἐνεχείριζεν, ὁ δ' ὑπεδέχετο κ.τ.έ. Vat. σχολαίτερον pro ὀλκότη.

Lib. IV. c. II. fin. εἰ δέ τι δεῖ καὶ κόμπον προσίεναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις κ.τ.έ. A κόμπου προσεῖναι.

Ib. c. IV. in. Theagenēs confecto jam medio stadio τὸ βλέμμα ὄλον εἰς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν τείνας, βέλος ἐπὶ σκοπὸν ἐφέρετο κ.τ.έ. B καθάπερ βέλος.

Ib. c. XIV. fin. ὦ θαυμάσιε—ὅτε σε ἐχρῆν ἔπεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν—τότε σκυθρωπὸς καὶ σύννους, καὶ μονονοῦ θρηνεῖς κ.τ.έ. Pro ἔπεσθαι lege ἦδεσθαι.

Lib. V. c. VI. in. οὐχ ὀρᾶς, Theagenes Charicleæ dicit, ὡς (ὁ δαίμων) φυγαῖς ἐπισυνάπτει πειρατήρια καὶ τοῖς ἐκ θαλάττης ἀτόποις τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φιλοτιμείται χαλεπωτέρα; in A deest χαλεπ. Tum lege ἐπισυνάπτειν.

Ib. XVIII. med. Senex piscator surdus pro foribus rete laceratum reficit, cui Calasiris, χαῖρε, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ φράζε ὅπου τις ἂν τύχοι καταγωγῆς· ὁ δὲ, Περὶ τὴν πλησίον ἄκραν, ἔφη, χοιράδι πέτρα τῆς προτεραίας ἐνεχθὲν διεσπάρακται (nimirum rete). καὶ γὰρ, τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφην, οὐδὲν δέομαι μαθεῖν· ὅμως δ' οὖν χρηστῶς ἂν ποιῆς καὶ φιλανθρώπως, ἢ αὐτὸς ὑποδεχόμενος, ἢ ἕτερον ὑφηγούμενος κ.τ.έ. A ἐνσχεθὲν pro ἐνεχθὲν. AB ποιοίης.

Ib. c. XXIX. in. μηδὲ ὀχλεῖν. B μηδὲ διοχλεῖν; paullo inferius ὁ Τραχίνος χαίρων οὕτω προστάξειν ἐπηγγελλετο κ.τ.έ. AB πράξειν.

Lib. VI. c. V. Chariclea cum Theagenem non cerneret cum iis qui abierant illum quæsitum, λίγιόν τι ἀνακωκύσασα κ.τ.έ. In Lugdun. codice vel potius apographo codicis λύγιον; lege διωλύγιον.

Ib. c. VIII. in. Mercator Naucratis Cnemoni, tibi θυγατέρα ταυτηνὴ τὴν ἐμὴν ὕμῳ Ναυσίκλειαν, προῖκα ἐπιδούς (sic B) αὐτὸς μὲν

πλείστην ὄσσην, τὴν παρὰ σοῦ δὲ πάλιν εἰληφέναι κρίνων, ἐξ οὗ γένος καὶ οἶκον καὶ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν ἐγνώρισα. A πάλαι pro πάλιν.

Ib. c. xv. fin. Vetulæ isti incantatrici, quæ artibus suis effecit ut filius mortuus loqueretur hæc ille minitatur, οὐθ' ὁ παῖς σοι περισωθεῖς ἐπανήξει, οὐτ' αὐτὴ τὸν ἀπὸ ξίφους ἐκφύεξθι θάνατον· ἀλλ' ἤδη τὸν σαντῆς βίον ἐν οὕτως ἀθέσμοις πράξεις καταναλώσασα—βιαίαν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑποστήσῃ τελευτήν· V. αἰὲ δὲ, quod etiam erui potest ex ἀηδῇ quod A habet.

Lib. VII. c. iii. fin. αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκ πατρίδος φυγὴν ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς κ.τ.έ. AB ἐπιβεβληκὼς.

Ib. c. vi. Ὁ δὲ Θύαμις ἐπὶ τὸν Πετόσιριν ὥρμησεν. οὐ μὲν ὑπέστη γ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην κίνησιν τραπείς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας εἰσφρῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ προθυμοῦμενος. B ἀλλὰ τὴν πρ. κ. εἰς φυγὴν τραπείς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἴετο εἰσφ. κ.τ.έ.

Ib. c. x. fin. εἰ δέ σοι καὶ τῷ σῷ κάλλει προστυχεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνύσαιμι κ.τ.έ. B προσχεῖν.

Ib. c. xiv. in. Calasiridem mortuum Chariclea deflet, τί καὶ ζῆν δεῖ ἔτι,—εἰς ποίαν ἀφορῶντας ἐλπίδα; ὁ χειραγωγὸς τῆς ξένης, ἡ βακτηρία τῆς πλάνης, ὁ ξεναγὸς (A ξεναγωγὸς) τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν, ὁ τῶν φύντων ἀναγνωρισμὸς, ἡ παραψυχὴ τῶν δυστυχημάτων, ἡ εὐπορία καὶ λύσις τῶν ἀτυχημάτων (AB ἀμηχάνων) ἡ πάντων (τῶν adjicit AB) καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄγκυρα Καλάσιρις ἀπόλωλε.

Lib. VIII. c. i. fin. ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότητος μὴ ἐξενεγκών. A ἐνεγκών.

Ib. c. iii. in. Ubi Latine vertitur “quando jam versari etiam cum extraneis lege pontificia permittebatur;” παραιτεῖσθαι in Græcis; quod corrigendum et scribendum διαιτᾶσθαι.

Ib. c. ix. in. κάπειδὴ τὴν πυρκαϊάν ὥς ὅτι μεγίστην ἐνήψαν οἱ δῆμιοι, καὶ τὴν φλόγα ὑποβαλλόντων λαμπρῶς ἐξῆπτον κ.τ.έ. A ἔνησαν, B ἐνήσαν illud bonum; sensus enim, postquam rogam exstruxerunt.

Ib. c. xi. fin. εἰκάζω δύναμιν τινὰ εἶκειν τῇ λίθῳ πυρὸς φυγαδευτικὴν. A ἦκειν.

Lib. IX. c. i. in. προφθῆναι. AB φθῆναι.

Ib. c. v. in. μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους—ἐκκαταρρίπτεται. “pars muri corrui.” B ἐγκατερείπεται.

Ib. c. vii. in. ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οἱ πρεσβεῖς ἔτι ἀνῆσαν κ.τ.έ. AB ἐπανῆσαν.

Ib. c. xiv. in. Ἦδη γοῦν παρττόμενος ἑωρᾶτο (Persarum dux) κ.τ.έ. A παραταττόμενος, acie instructa.



Ib. c. XIX. in. οἱ δὲ μικροῖς μὲν τοῖς βέλεσιν, ἰφ' δὲ δρακόντων πεφραγμένοις εἰστοξεύοντες, κ.τ.έ. V. bene πεφαρμαγμένοις.

Ib. c. XXI. in. Oroondatem Persarum ducem bello captum rex Æthiopum Hydaspes rogat, τίνα σαντῷ τιμωρίαν ὀρίζεις; καὶ ὅσῃ ἂν, ἔφη, βασιλεὺς οὐμὸς (sic A) τῶν σῶν τινὰ στρατηγῶν φυλάττοντά σοι πίστιν λαβὼν ἀπήτησεν. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ὑδάσπης, ἐπήνεσεν ἂν καὶ δωρησάμενος ἀπέπεμψεν, εἰ βασιλεὺς ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ ἀλλὰ μὴ τύραννος κ.τ.έ. A pro καὶ ὅσῃ habet καὶ ὅς, ἣν ἂν, tum εἰ βασιλεὺς τίς ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς καὶ μὴ τ.

Lib. X. c. VIII. fin. Pueri puellæque bello capti ab Æthiopibus diis immolantur, qui vita integri Soli, reliqui Baccho; quod ut sciant focum adhibent, quem quisvis captivus conscendere debet, qui talis erat efficacisë, ὥστε πάντα τὸν μὴ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιορκούντα καταίθειν· τῶν δὲ ἀπεναντίων (legendum ἀναντιῶν), ἀλύπως προσίσθαι τὴν βάσιν. τούτους μὲν δὴ τῷ Διονύσῳ—ἀπεκλήρουν, πλὴν δύο που καὶ τριῶν Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ τῆς ἐσχάρας ἐπιβᾶσαι, παρθενεύειν ἐγνωρίσθησαν. A νεανίδων pro Ἑλλ.

Ib. c. IX. in. Theagenes foco conscenso, rerum venerearum expers esse invenitur, itaque πρὸς τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἱερουργίαν ἡτρεπίεζτο, καὶ λέγων ἡρέμα πρὸς τὴν Χαρίκλειαν, τἀπίχειρα παρ' Αἰθίοψι τῶν καθαρῶν βιούντων τοιάδε, θυσίαι καὶ σφαγαὶ τὰ ἔπαθλα τῶν σωφρονοῦντων κ.τ.έ. A καλὰ λέγων abjecto τοιάδε.

Ib. fin. καθ' ἡμέτερον νόον. A νόμον.

Ib. c. XXI. fin. Chariclea rogat ut sua manu Theagenem interficere sibi concedatur; cui Hydaspes respondet, patriis legibus id negotium datum esse Solis Lunæque Sacerdotibus, usque quæ jam nuptæ essent, ὥσθ' ἡ κατὰ σε παρθενία κωλύει τὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως γιγνομένην αἰτίαν. A et V. αἴτησιν pro αἰτίαν.

Ib. c. XXIV. in. ὁ δὲ (A δὲ δὴ) Μερόηβος πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν τῆς νύμφης, ὑφ' ἡδονῆς θ' ἅμα καὶ αἰδοῦς, οὐδ' ἐν μελαίνῃ τῇ χροίᾳ διέλαθε φοινιχθεῖς, οἶονεὶ πρὸς αἰθάλην τοῦ ἐρυθήματος ἐπιδραμόντος. A οἶονεὶ πυρὶ αἰθάλῃ unde eliciendum οἶονεὶ πυρὸς πρὸς αἰθάλην κ.τ.έ.

Ib. c. XXVII. in. Camelopardalis est μέγεθος μὲν εἰς καμήλου μέτρον ὑψούμενον (ζῶον) χροίαν δὲ καὶ ἐπιδερμίδα φολίσιν ἀνθηραῖς ἐστιγμένον. A χροίαν δὲ καὶ δορὰν παρδάλεως φ. κ.τ.έ.

Ib. c. XXVIII. in. ὁ μόνος, ὡς ἐδόκει, τὸ θηρίον κατωπτευκὸς κ.τ.έ. A ὡς ἔοικε.

Ib. c. XXXI. in. Theagenes rogat ἀλλὰ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀγωνίας; Πάλης, εἶπεν ὁ Ὑδάσπης. Καὶ ὅτι δὲ οὐχὶ καὶ ξιφῆρης καὶ ἐνόπλιος, ἵνα τι ρέξας ἢ παθὼν, ἐμπλήσῃ Χαρίκλειαν κ.τ.έ. A καὶ ὅς, τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ ξ.—ἵνα τι μέγα ρέξας κ.τ.έ.

Ib. c. xxvi. in. Charicles Hydaspī narrat, ἦν μοι θυγάτηρ, ὧ βασιλεῦ, τίς μὲν τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ οἷα τὸ εἶδος, θεασάμενοι (μόνον addit A), ἐπαξίως ἂν με λέγειν ἐπιστεύσατε.—ταύτην οὗτος—ἔλαθεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων αὐτῶν τὴν κόρην ἀποσυλήσας, καὶ ἀδύτων τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. διὸ καὶ (εἰς addit A) ὑμᾶς ἀσεβεῖν δικαίως ἂν νομισθεῖη, τὸν πάτριον ὑμῶν θεὸν Ἀπόλλωνα—καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου (ιερόν add. A) τέμενος βεβηλώσας· συνεργοῦ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐναγῇ ταύτην πράξιν ψευδοπροφήτου τινὸς Μεμφίτου γεγονότος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐγενόμην, τῶν ὄντων πολιτῶν ἐξαιτῶν οὐδαμῶς εὗρισκον, ἔκδοτον ἐκείνων τοῦτον, εἰ (hoc dele cum A) καὶ εἰς σφαγὴν—ὥς ἀλάστορα παραχωρησάντων κ.τ.έ. A κατὰ τ. Θετ. μεταθέν καὶ παρ' Οἰταίων ὄντων αὐτοῦ πολιτῶν ἐξαιτῶν κ.τ.έ.

*Achilles Tatius.*

Lib. I. c. II. fin. Καὶ ταυτὶ δὲ λέγων—ἐπὶ τινος ἄλσους αὐτὸν ἄγω, ἔνθα—παρέρρει ὕδωρ ψυχρόν τε καὶ διανγές, οἷον ἀπὸ χίονος ἄρτι λυθείσης ἄρχεται. Καθίσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τινος θώκου χαμαιζήλου, καὶ αὐτὸς παρακαθισάμενος· ὦρα σοι, ἔφην τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀκροάσεως· πάντως δ' ὁ [τοιούτος] τόπος ἡδὺς, καὶ μύθων ἄξιος [ὑπάρχει] ἐρωτικῶν. 'Ο δ' ἄρχεται τοῦ λέγειν κ.τ.έ. Pro ἄρχεται Cobetus ἔρχεται. Scaligerus recte abjicit τοιούτος, nec hoc loco admiserim ὑπάρχει, quod si ab hoc auctore scriptum esset, dixisset ὁ τόπος ὑπάρχει ἡδὺς καὶ μ. ἄ. ἐρ. Nec hic exspectes σοι, quum potius μοι deberet; credo τοίνυν vel tale quid auctorem scripsisse.

Ib. c. viii. Ἐπιπαρωξύνεν οὖν τὸ μεираκίον ἀποθέσθαι τὸν γάμον κ.τ.έ. Cobetus ἀπωθεῖσθαι.

Ib. c. xii. in. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐφιλοσοφοῦμεν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐξαίφνης δὲ παῖς εἰστρέχει τῶν τοῦ Χαρικλέους οἰκετῶν κ.τ.έ. Legendum δέ τις εἰστρέχει.

Ib. fin. Charicles equo vehens, τῶν ῥυτῆρων οὐκέτι κρατεῖν δυνάμενος, δούς δ' ἑαυτὸν ὁμως τῷ τοῦ δρόμου πνεύματι, τῆς τύχης ἦν. Legendum δούς δ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ τ.δ.π. (ὄλος) τῆς τύχης ἦν.

Lib. II. c. xiii. fin. Νόμου γὰρ ὄντος Βυζαντίοις, εἷτις ἀρπάσας παρθένον φθάσας ποιήσκει γυναικα, γάμον ἔχειν τὴν βίαν, προσεῖχε τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ. Cobetus pro τὴν βίαν l. ζημίαν.

Ib. c. xxxiv. in. Ἀλλάξας δ' ὁ σὺς σπουδῇ ἔτρεχεν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν κ.τ.έ. Imo ἀναΐξας.

Lib. III. c. vi. ὁρῶμεν εἰκόνα διπλὴν· καὶ ὁ γραφεὺς ἐγέγραπτο· Εὐάνθης μὲν ὁ γραφεὺς, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν κ.τ.έ. Lege ἐνεγέγραπτο.

Ib. c. x. fin. ἤδη τὸν θρήνον ὀρχήσομαι κ.τ.έ. Legendum ἐξορχήσομαι.

Ib. c. xxv. in. Phœnix avis patrem sepelit hoc modo; σμύρνης βῶλον—ὀρύττει τε τῷ στόματι καὶ κοιλαίνει κατὰ μέσον, καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα θήκη γίνεται τῷ νεκρῷ. Ἐνθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἐναρμόσας τὸν ὄρνιν τῇ σόρῳ καὶ εἰς τὸ χάσμα γηῖν φάματι, ἐπὶ τὸν Νεῖλον οὕτως ἵπταται τὸ ἔργον φέρων. Legendum καὶ βύσας τὸ χ. κ.τ.έ.

Lib. IV. c. xix. Crocodilus ἔστι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ βλοσυρώτερος τὰ σώματα κ.τ.έ. dedit auctor, ni fallor, τοῦ ἵππου βλ. τὰ ὄμματα.

Lib. V. c. iii. in. Εἰδὼς οὖν ἀμήχανον τὸ τυχεῖν, συντίθην ἐπιβουλήν, ληστῶν ὁμοτέχνων συγκροτήσας κ.τ.έ. Scaligerus ληστήριον pro ληστῶν.

Ib. c. iv. fin. Procne τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἤρειδε τοῦ Τηρέως, τῇ λαῖᾳ τὰ διεργωγῶτα τοῦ χιτῶνος ἐπὶ τοὺς μαστοὺς ἔκλειεν. Scaligerus pro ἔκλειεν recte εἰλκεν.

Ib. c. v. in. αὐτῆς ζηλοτυπίας ὠδίνες νικῶσι καὶ τὴν γαστέρα. Μόνον γὰρ ὀρῶσαι (αἱ) γυναῖκες ἀνιάσαι τὸν τὴν εὐνὴν λελυπηκότα, κὰν πάσχωσιν ἐν οἷς ποιοῦσι οὐχ ἥττον κακόν, τὴν τοῦ πάσχειν λογίζονται συμφορὰν τῇ τοῦ ποιεῖν ἡδονῇ. Excidit οὐ ante λογίζονται.

Ib. c. vi. fin. De Pharo turri sermo injicitur: ὄρος ἦν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ κείμενον, ψαῦον αὐτῶν τῶν νεφῶν. Ὑπέρρει δὲ ὕδωρ κάτωθεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιήματος· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ θαλάσσης εἰστήκει κρεμáμενον. Ἐς δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ἀκρόπολιν ὁ τῶν νεῶν κυβερνήτης ἀνέτελλεν ἄλλος. Recte quidem vidit Scaligerus ἥλιος requiri, male ἄλλος abjicit; scribendum ἀνέτελλεν ἄλλος ἥλιος.

Ib. c. xv. in. Ὁφελον εἶχον τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τῷ κοινῷ τοῦ ἔρωτος πυρὶ, ἵνα σοι περιχυθεῖσα κατέφλεξα. Perspicuum est sententiam hanc his debere inesse “utinam in meo igne amoris eadem quæ in vulgari vis sit, ut complexuum meorum contactu flammam in te immittam.” Græce scrib. videtur, ὄφελον εἶχε τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τῷ κοινῷ τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος πῦρ ἵνα κ.τ.έ.

Lib. VI. c. xx. in. Καὶ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὖν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλπίζων εἰς τὸν ἔρωτα εὐτυχῆσειν, ὅλος Λευκίππης δοῦλος ἦν· ἀτυχήσας δ' ὢν ἥλπισεν, ἀφῆκε τῷ θυμῷ τὰς ἡδονάς. Cobetus τὰς ἡνίας pro ἡδ.

Lib. VII. c. xiv. in. Ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγη ἐγὼ τῶν βασάνων, διελέλυτο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον, ὄχλος τ' ἦν περὶ ἐμὲ καὶ θόρυβος, τῶν μὲν ἐλεούντων, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθιαζόντων, τῶν δ' ἀναπυρριζομένων. Lege ἐπιτωθαζόντων id est quidam vicem meam dolebant, nonnulli me conviciabantur, quidam me interrogabant.



*Selectæ Emendationes. Scripsit G. A. HIRSCHIG.*

J. Stobæi Florilegium. (Cf. Editio Th. Gaisford. Oxon. 1822.)  
V. I. Tit. I. l. 67. Λογισμός μὲν ὦν ὁ κρατέων, τὰς γνώσιος θυμὸς δὲ ὁ κρατέων τῷ μένεος· ἐπιθυμία δὲ ἡ κρατοῦσα τῷ ἐπιθυμητικῷ ἀδεῶς. Videtur ΑΔΕΟC male lectum pro ΜΕΡΕΟC.

Ib. Tit. III. l. 79. γ. τῷ δυστυχοῦντι μὴ ἐπιγέλα. Lege ἐπεγγέλα.

Ib. Tit. v. l. 100. Εἰ δὲ τοιόνδε δυσχερὲς τῷ καίρῳ ὑπάρχοι, μέμνησο, ὅτι μὴ κάμνων ὑπ' ὀκνοῦντων ὑπουργῇ, ἐσθίων ὑπὸ μὴ ἐσθίωντων κ.τ.έ. Pro ΥΠΟΚΝΟΥΝΤΩΝ l. ΥΠΟΠΟΝΟΥΝΤΩΝ.

Ib. Tit. x. l. 44. Χρημάτων ὀρεξεις, ἡ μὴ ὀρίζεται κόρφ, πενήνης ἐσχάτης πολλὸν χαλεπωτέρη. Pro ΚΟΡΩΙ l. ΟΥΡΩΙ.

Ib. Tit. xvii. l. 43. Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ Λάκων τοιοῦτος, ὃς ἰδὼν τινα, παρακειμένου αὐτοῦ ὀρνιθίου τῶν πιόνων καὶ πολυτελῶν, ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἀναινόμενον φαγεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ φάσκοντα μὴ δύνασθαι· ἄλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη καὶ γυπὸς δύναμαι καὶ τράγον. Ex ΚΑΙΤΡΑΓΟΥ elicio ΚΑΙΗΕΡΑΚΟC.

Vol. II. Tit. xxix. l. 52. Οὐ καλὸν, ὃ φίλε πάντα λόγον πότι τέκτονα φοιτῇν. l. χρόνον pro λόγον. Cf. Comm. Pal. J. F. Baglii, p. 33. 849.

Ib. Tit. xliii. l. 133. Ταὶ μὲν ὦν ἰδέαι τὰς διανομὰς τοσαῦται· ταὶ δὲ εἰκόνες ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις θεωροῦνται· τιμαὶ τε γὰρ καὶ κολάσεις καὶ ἀρεταὶ ἐξ ἴσω τοῖς μείζουσι καὶ μείουσι διανέμεται, ἡ ἐξ ἀνίσω ἡ τῇ ἀρετῇ ὑπερέχεν, ἡ τῷ πλούτῳ, ἡ καὶ δυνάμει. Pro ΑΡΕΤΑΙ l. ΑΡΧΑΙ, tum dele καὶ κολάσεις.

Ib. Tit. xlviii. l. 39. Οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀρχᾶς νομοθεταὶ τὸ μέσον τῶν ἀνθρώπων στάσιμον οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο ποιῆσαι. Ex ΟΥΚΑΝΔ. l. ΟΥΚΑΔ.

Ib. Tit. xlviii. l. 63, l. 34. Ἄριστα δὲ κα μιμέοιτο τοῦτον, εἰ μεγαλοφρονά τε καὶ ἀβρὸν καὶ ὀλιγοδέεα παρασκευάζοι αὐτὸν κ.τ.έ. Riehkensius pro ἀβρὸν recte ἄμερον: de β et μ confusis vide Bastium.

Ib. Tit. cv. l. 48. Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ πέποιθας ἀργυρίῳ, πάτερ κ.τ.έ. Pro ΟΤΩΙ l. ΟΠΩC.

Appendix e MS. Florent. Tit. l. 14, p. 25. Οἱ Στωικοὶ ὁρατὸν εἶναι τὸ σκότος· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ὁράσεως προκείσθαι τινα ἐπ' αὐτὸ αὐτήν. Deleto αὐτήν l. προκείσθαι ἀκτῖνας vide l. seq.

Lysias. (Cf. Editio Imm. Bekkeri. Berolini 1823.) Orat. iii. p. 96, s. 3. Μάλιστα δ' ἀγανακτῶ, ὃ βουλῇ, ὅτι περὶ τῶν τραυμάτων εἰπεῖν ἀναγκασθήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ αἰσχυρόμενος, εἰ μέλλοιεν πολλοὶ μοι συνείσεσθαι ἡνεσχόμην ἀδικοῦμενος. Pro ΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΩΝ legendum esse

ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΩΝ recte vidit Marklandus; præterea pro τῶν l. τοιούτων.

Orat. v. p. 102, s. 1. Νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, κελεύοντος καὶ δεομένου—μὴ βοηθῆσαι Καλλιᾷ τὰ δίκαια κ.τ.έ. Pro ΙΚΕΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ l. ΙΚΕΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ.

Orat. vi. p. 107, s. 50. Δοκεῖτω δ' ὑμῖν ἡ γνώμη ὁρᾶν ᾧ οὗτος ποιεῖ κ.τ.έ. Ex ΟΥΤΟΣ ΠΟΙΕΙ l. ΟΥΤΟΣΕΠΟΙΕΙ.

Orat. vii. p. 108, s. 4. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο Πεισάνδρου τὸ χωρίον, δημιευθέντων δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐκείνου Ἀπολλόδωρος—ἐγεώργει κ.τ.έ. Pro τοῦτο lege πρῶτον quæ voces sæpe confusæ, uti v. c. etiam apud Stob. L. II. Tit. lv. l. 7, in fragm. Arist. ubi τοῦτον pro πρῶτον.

Orat. ix. p. 116, s. 21. Πραχθεῖς δ' ὑπὸ τῶνδε, εἰ ἀδίκως ἀλοίην ἀποδραῖν ἂν κ.τ.έ. Hic πραχθεῖς a librariis lectum pro παραχθεῖς, cf. p. 115, s. 18.

Orat. x. p. 117, s. 12. Καίτοι περὶ μὲν τοῦ ῥίψαι οὐδὲν τῷ νόμῳ ἔρηται κ.τ.έ. Ex ΟΥΔΕΝΤΩΙΝΟΜΩ l. ΟΥΔΕΝΕΝΤΩΙΝΟΜΩ.

Orat. xii. p. 128, s. 84. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πάντα ποιοῦντες δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν δύνασθε λαβεῖν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν κ.τ.έ. Librarius oculis aberravit pro ΙΚΑΝΗΝΔΙΚΗΝ legens δίκην.

Orat. xiii. p. 131, s. 15. Ὁρῶντες δ' οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ὀνόματι μὲν εἰρήνην λεγομένην, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταλυομένην κ.τ.έ. Pro λεγ. l. γενομένην, quæ sæpe confusa.

Orat. xx. p. 161, s. 34. Καίτοι ὀρῶμεν γ' ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἴαν τις παῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασάμενος κλαίῃ καὶ ὀλοφύρῃται, τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ αὐτὸν εἰ ἀτιμωθήσονται, ἐλεούντας, καὶ ἀφιέντας τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἁμαρτίας διὰ τοὺς παῖδας κ.τ.έ. Cf. Orat. xiv. p. 141, s. 17. Lege ΠΑΙΔΑΣΔΙΑΥΤΟΝ pro ΠΑΙΔΑΣΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΝ.

Orat. xxvi. p. 178, s. 6. Νῦν δ' ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς ἔχει τὰ ὑμέτερα κλέπτειν, ἂν μὲν γὰρ λάθωσιν, ἀδεῶς αὐτοῖς ἔξουσι χρῆσθαι, ἂν δὲ ὀφθῶσιν, ἡ μέρει τῶν ἀδικημάτων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐξεπρίαντο, ἢ εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστάντες τῇ αὐτῶν δυνάμει ἐσώθησαν. Pro ΑΔΙΚΗΜΑΤΩΝ l. ΛΗΜΜΑΤΩΝ, porro pro ὀφθῶσιν, ληφθῶσιν. Cf. Demosth. de Cor. p. 1232.

Andocides, Orat. ii. p. 21, s. 11. Ἄλλ' αὐτίκα μὲν τότε εἰσήγαγον εἰς στρατιὰν ὑμῶν οὖσαν ἐν Σάμῳ κοπέας,—ὄντος μοι Ἀρχελάου ξένου πατρικοῦ καὶ διδόντος γενέσθαι τε καὶ ἐξάγεσθαι ὁπόσους ἐβουλόμην. Pro ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ l. ΕΛΕΣΘΑΙ.

Orat. iv. p. 29, s. 2. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν ὁ παρὼν οὐ στεφανηφόρος, ἀλλ' εἰ χρὴ μὴδὲν ἀδικήσαντα τὴν πόλιν δέκα ἔτη φεύγειν οἱ δ' ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἄθλων τούτων ἐσμέν ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης καὶ Νικίας, ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἓνα

τῇ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν. Pro ΛΑΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣΚΑΙΝΙΚΙΑΣ leg. videtur, ΛΑΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣΟΚΛΕΙΝΙΟΥ.

Ib. p. 32, s. 26. Διομήδης ἦλθε ζεύγος ἵππων ἄγων Ὀλυμπίαζε, κεκτημένος μὲν οὐσίαν μετρίαν, στεφανῶσαι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βουλόμενος, λογιζόμενος τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ἵππικους τύχῃ τοὺς πλείστους κρινομένους. Pro ΤΥΧΗΙ l. ΤΕΧΝΗΙ, quæ sæpe confusa.

Isæus, Orat. i. p. 37, s. 27. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὰς διαθήκας βουλόμενος μετεπέμπετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς φαμέν, οὐδεὶς ἔνεστι τούτοις λόγος. Pro ΕΝΕΚΤΙ l. ΕΤΕΚΤΑΙ.

Orat. vi. p. 60, s. 48. Καὶ οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ ἐτέρων πυθόμεναι ἦλθον αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γυνή, οὐδὲ τότε ἠφίουν εἰσιέναι, ἀλλ' ἀπέκλεισαν τὴν θύραν κ.τ.έ. Pro ἠφίουν A habet ΗΦΕΙΩΝ; inde l. εἶων.

Orat. xi. p. 88, s. 55. Εἰ δὲ πλείονα κατέλιπεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ βεβαιότερα, καὶ ταῦτα τοσαῦτ' ἐστὶν ὥστε καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξ αὐτῶν διαθεῖναι καλῶς καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲν ἦττον εἶναι πλούσιον. Pro ΔΙΑΘΕΙΝΑΙ l. ΕΚΔΟΘΗΝΑΙ.

Ib. Apospasm. iv. Φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ μὲν διώκων ταῦτα καὶ τὰ πράγματα εἰς βασάνους ἄγων, οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ διαβολὰς καὶ λόγους καθιστὰς κ.τ.έ. Pro ΚΑΙΛΟΓΟΥΣ l. ΚΑΙΚΑΚΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ.

Dinarchus, p. 97, s. 60. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθές τῇ βουλῇ προσετάχθη ζητεῖν, τὸ δὲ συγγνώμης ἄξιον ἢ μὴ τὸ δικαστήριον ἔκρινε. διὰ τοῦτ' οὐ πιστευτόν τῇ βουλῇ—ἐπειδὴ σέ—ἀποπέφαγκε; pro ΤΟΥΤΟΥ l. ΤΟΥΤΟΥΝΟΥ.

Ib. p. 103, s. 107. Καὶ συμπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναντίον διειλεγμένος Νικάνορι,—ἐλαινὸν νῦν σεαυτὸν κατασκευάζεις προδότης ὧν καὶ δωροδόκος, ὡς ἐπιμελησομένους τούτους τῆς σῆς πονηρίας, καὶ οὐ δώσων δίκην ὑπὲρ ὧν εἴληψαι πεποικῶς κ.τ.έ. Pro ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ lege ΕΠΙΑΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ.

Demosthenes, Orat. xx. p. 495, s. 135. Μεγάλων μὲν οὖν εὐεργεσιῶν οὗθ' ἡμῖν συμφέρεи συμβαίνειν πολλάκις καιρὸν οὗτ' ἴσως ράδιον αἰτίῳ γενέσθαι· μετρίων δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τις καὶ πολιτεία δυναίτ' ἂν ἐφικέσθαι, εὐνοίας, δικαιοσύνης, ἐπιμελείας, τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ συμφέρειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ χρῆναι δίδόναι τὰς τιμὰς. Ex ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙΤΑΣ l. ΔΙΔΟΝΑΙΑΕΙΤΑΣ.

Orat. xxv. p. 778, s. 32. Πόσῃν δ' ἂν οἶσθαι βίαν καὶ ὕβριν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει—γίγνεσθαι καὶ βλασφημίαν ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν εὐφημίας καὶ τάξεως; Pro ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΙΑΝ l. ΠΑΡΟΙΝΙΑΝ.

Orat. xxvi. p. 801, s. 4. Διὸ καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας ὁ Σόλων τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις ἐποίησε βραδείας, ταῖς δ' ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς ταχείας, ὑπολαμβάνων τοῖς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι καὶ παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν δίκαιον λαβεῖν, τοῖς δ' οὐκ εἶναι περιμένειν. Pro ΠΑΡΑΤΟΝΧΡΟΝΟΝ l. ΠΕΡΑΤΟΥΧΡΟΝΟΥ.



Orat. xxvii. p. 819, s. 25. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν ἀργὸν (nempe τὸ ἐργαστήριον) φῇ γενέσθαι, λόγον αὐτὸς ἀπενήνοχεν ἀναλωμάτων οὐκ εἰς σιτία τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλ' εἰς ἔργα, τὸν εἰς τὴν τέχνην ἐλέφαντα καὶ μαχαιρῶν λαβὰς—ὡς ἐργαζομένων τῶν δημιουργῶν ἔτι δὲ Θηριππίδῃ τριῶν ἀνδραπόδων, ἃ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ μισθὸν ἀποδεδωκέναι λογίζεται. καίτοι κτέ. Pro ΓΕΝΕΘΘΑΙΟΓΟΝ l. ΓΕΝΕΘΘΑΙΤΙΟΓΟΝ; tum pro ΕΤΙΔΕ l. ΤΙΔΕ.

Orat. xxxv. p. 937, s. 50. Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δί' οἶομαι γε δεῖν ἀνθρώπους καταφρονούντας καὶ οἰομένους δεινούς εἶναι ἐφίεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, οὐδ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, τῷ λόγῳ πιστεύοντας. Abiit ΜΕΤΑΦΡΟΝ in ΜΕΤΑΦΡΟΝ, quod dein a librariis qui μετα and κατα confundebant, mutatum in καταφρον.

Orat. xxxvii. p. 982, s. 68. Ἐγὼ δ' ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐδένα τῶν δανειζόντων οἶομαι, μισεῖσθαι μέντοι τινὰς ἂν εἰκότως ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οἱ τέχνην τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιημένοι μήτε συγγνώμης μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενός εἰσιν ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ πλείονος. Excidisse videtur φροντίζειν post μηδενός; tum εἰσιν corruptum ex εἰώθασι: hæc autem εἰσιν et εἰώθασι confusa luculentissimum docet exemplum in Antiphonte de cæde Herodis, p. 133, s. 32, ubi οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς ἐπίστασθαι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐφ' οἷς ἂν (ἡ) τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῆς βασιάνου, πρὸς τούτων εἰσιν οἱ βασανιζόμενοι λέγειν κτέ, ubi nemo admonitus mihi non adsentietur εἰώθασι scriptum esse ab auctore.

Orat. xliv. p. 1100, s. 89. Ὅσοι μὴ ἐπεποιήντο, φησὶν, ὅτε Σόλων εἰσῆι εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς διαθέσθαι—τοῖς δέ γε ποιηθείσιν οὐκ ἐξὸν διαθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ζῶντας ἐγκαταλιπόντας υἱὸν γνήσιον ἐπανεῖναι, ἡ τελευτήσαντος ἀποδιδόναι τὴν κληρονομίαν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκείοις οὔσι τοῦ ποιησαμένου. Legendum videtur τελευτήσαντας ἄπαιδας ἀποδιδόναι; nempe librarius in ἀπαιδάποδιδόναι oculis aberrans illud omisit.

Orat. l. p. 1216, s. 40. Ὡστ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ μοι τὰναλώματα ἐγγέγραπτο ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποι ἀναλώθη καὶ ὅ τι ποιούντων, καὶ ἡ τιμὴ τίς ἦν καὶ νόμισμα ὀποδαπὸν, καὶ ὀπόσου ἡ καταλλαγὴ ἦν τῷ ἀργυρίῳ κτέ. Pro ΤΙΜΗΤΙC l. ΤΙΜΗΗΤΙC, nam ἡ τις requiritur, uti scriptum ὀπόσου in s. et ὀποδαπὸν in r.

Orat. liii. p. 1252, s. 24.—παίει τε πύξ καὶ ἀρπάζει μέσον καὶ ὠθεῖ με εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας, εἰ μὴ τινες προσιόντες—παρεγένοντο καὶ ἐβοήθησαν. Pro ΚΑΙΩΘΕΙ repone ΚΑΝΕΩΘΕΙ.

Orat. lix. p. 1384, s. 150. Ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἦτε,—ἐνθυμείσθε τοῦτο μόνον εἰ Νέαιρα οὔσα ταῦτα διαπέπρακται. Pro ΝΕΑΙΡΑ l. ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

(To be continued.)

II. *Thucydides*, i. 2, § 3.

Καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος κ.τ.λ.

In most of the interpretations which have been given to this much-vexed passage, it is assumed that by τὰς μετοικίας the writer means the same thing as he has previously expressed by τὰς μεταναστάσεις and τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων. Thus Dr Arnold: "the constant migrations prevented Greece from improving in other respects at it otherwise would have done;" Poppo (ed. 2, omitting ἐς): "ob migrationes reliquam Græciam (τὰ ἄλλα) non perinde auctam esse;" Krüger: "it was by reason of the migrations that in the other parts of Greece there was not the like increase." Poppo, indeed, in his *Obs.* p. 177 and ed. 1, contended against this sense, urging that μετανίστασθαι means, generally, "emigrare in aliam regionem," μετοικίεσθαι "emigrare in ejusmodi regionem quæ jam aliis est inhabitata, et eo quidem consilio, ut tanquam inquilinus ibi vivas:" but Lycurg. *adv. Leocrat.* p. 152 (cited by Dr Arnold), Plat. *Apol.* p. 40 (by Krüger), to which other passages may be added from the Lexicons, sufficiently shew that μέτοικος and its derivatives are not necessarily thus restricted. Still, there is in them a predominant reference to the *terminus ad quem*, and so far, Göller's construction, διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, "ob migrationes in alias terras reliquam Græciam non perinde auctam esse," is preferable to those in which the word is taken absolutely in the general sense "migrations," or, with reference to the *terminus a quo*, "emigrations." But it seems to me, that in our passage, standing as it does in a context directly relating to Attica, the word almost inevitably suggests its specific Attic sense, and that if Thucydides had meant, "on account, or in consequence, of migrations, changes of abode," or the like, he would not have expressed this by a word which in this connexion could hardly fail to mislead the reader. In what follows, therefore, I assume for μετοικ. the specific sense, "immigration of μέτοικοι," "influx of foreign settlers," and leave out of consideration the interpretations which proceed upon the assumption of a different sense.

Hence, the infinitive clause, if we assume its subject to be τὴν Ἑλλάδα, or τὰ ἄλλα (= τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα) whether supplied from

ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, or (as Poppo, ed. 2) with omission of ἐς, can only mean, "there was not the like increase (viz. 'of Greece,' or 'of the other parts of Greece') by (= caused by, in consequence of) immigration of μέτοικοι into the other parts." But, independently of other inconveniences, the article before μετοικίας is fatal to this view of the writer's meaning.

If the subject be τὴν Ἀττικὴν, the word μετοικ. and its article will be appropriate, and then ἐς τὰ ἄλλα—a favourite phrase with Thuc. cf. e.g. the end of ch. 1—will be as the Scholiast also has it, κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πράγματα, οἷον πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα: "the μετοικ. (by which Attica was increased πλήθει ἀνθρώπων) were not attended with a corresponding increase, ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, in general resources;" cf. § 2, τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ opp. to μεγέθει πόλεων.

In μὴ ὁμοίως (which Dr A. seems to render "not—as it otherwise would have done") and in similar expressions, the notion usually implied is that of inferiority, "not equally, but in a less degree." Thus I. 141, 6, μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν: II. 80, 1, οὐκέτι ἔσοιτο ὁμοίος: and I. 143, 3, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου: I. 97, 4, μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου. But the negation of parity may also be taken in the opposite direction: thus II. 89, 1, πλήθει προεχούσας τὰς ναῦς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρεσκευάσαντο, and on II. 97, 5, οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν—ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται, the Scholiast has the comment (approved by Krüger, but mistakenly, as I think), ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλουσι δηλονότι. Another instance has been pointed out to me by a valued correspondent, in Aristid. II. 19, οὐδὲν ὁμοίων = "majorum." But I hesitate to accept this sense of μὴ ὁμοίως for our passage, partly because the implied ἀλλὰ μειζόνως is not clearly suggested by the context, as it is II. 89, 1, but chiefly because this would imply that there was some increase (of population, or of general resources) in the other parts of Greece, whereas the whole scope of the passage goes to shew that there was none at all.

With respect to the dependence of the infinitive clause, the interpreters mostly agree in making it appositive to τοῦ λόγου. Dr Arnold: "And the truth of my assertion, that &c. is shewn—;" Krüger: "And this is a very important proof of my assertion, that &c.;" Poppo: "sententiæ a me propositæ, ob migrationes, &c. hoc firmissimum argumentum est;" and similarly Göller. Poppo, *Obss. u. s.*, in discussing the various constructions which had been, or might be, proposed, rejects as ungrammatical the dependence on τόδε; and against Tafel, by whom this construction



has since been proposed, (“And this, namely, διὰ τὰς μετ.—αὐξήθηναι, is a very important proof of my assertion,”) Göller urges Poppo’s criticism, that this sense would require either the article, τὸ—αὐξήθηναι, or, ὅτι δ.τ.μ. ἐ.τ.ἀ. οὐχ ὁμοίως ηὐξήθη. The infinitive clause does depend, I think, on τοῦ λόγου, by which, however, I understand, not the particular assertion following in that clause, but the general assertion, “the matter under consideration,” “What I am saying,” viz. as to the general ἀσθένεια τῶν παλαιῶν (ch. 3)—mainly caused, as he afterwards says, 11, § 3, by want of wealth; δι’ ἀχρηματίαν ἀσθενῇ ἦν—to which the case of Attica, notwithstanding the favourable circumstances, forms no exception, and in which it is implied that Attica, although διὰ τὰς μετοικίας πλήθει ἀνθρώπων ηὐξήθη, ἐς τὰ ἅλλα οὐχ ὁμοίως ηὐξήθη.

But the reference of τόδε is also disputed. Most suppose it to look forward to the following sentence, ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος κ.τ.λ., which is its explication, as in the very common expressions τεκμήριον δέ, δῆλον δέ, and the like, followed by a sentence with explicative γάρ. Krüger, however, denies this, and gives the pronoun a retrospective reference to the matter immediately preceding, viz. τὸ ἀστασίαστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, urging the καί, which connects this sentence with what goes before, and also the position of τόδε, which he thinks is not emphatic enough for the other construction. Either construction will suit the interpretations which I propose; but the very similar sentence in the opening of ch. 3, Δηλοὶ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν οὐχ ἥκιστα, πρὸ γὰρ κ.τ.λ., induces me, notwithstanding Krüger’s objections, to prefer the former.

The scope and connexion of the whole chapter I take to be as follows: “It was long before any powerful states were formed, because the insecurity of property, &c. checked the development of national resources. The richest tracts of Greece were precisely those most subject to internal disturbance, and to aggression from without. Thus it was to the poverty of its soil that Attica was indebted for its security from disturbance and invasion: (διὰ τὸ λεπτόγειον, which, in the absence of ἐμπορία, and of good tillage, especially of φντουργία, both of which in later times formed so material an element of Attic prosperity, of course prevented the accumulation of wealth). And, indeed, the fact to which I am about to advert strikingly exemplifies my position (as to the general ἀσθένεια, and so, in respect of Attica,

as to this, viz.), that the large and steady increase of its population, διὰ τὰς μετοικίας, was not attended with a corresponding development of its resources, ἐς τὰ ἄλλα: namely, it was to Athens that *the most powerful* of those who were driven out from the rest of Greece betook themselves; *from the earliest times* (εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιού) they became regular *citizens* (not merely were received, as in later times, into the intermediate position of μέτοικοι, 'inquilini'), and so made the state still greater πλήθει ἀνθρώπων (not however ἐς τὰ ἄλλα); inasmuch, that at a later period they even sent off (= were fain to send off) colonies to Ionia, accounting that Attica was not sufficient (ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Α.) to maintain them all"—as, in fact, for the reasons above-mentioned it was not; though in later times, with developed resources, it was adequate to support a larger population than that of which it was glad to rid itself.

According to the usual interpretation the case of Attica is altogether exceptional, and the sending out of *colonies* is the evidence of its early and steady increase as compared with the rest of Greece. Even in Poppo's earlier interpretation, since rejected by him, and not without reason, this is the view taken of the author's meaning: "Attica cum propter soli asperitatem ex vetustissimis temporibus a seditionibus libera esset, ab iisdem semper habitata est. Unde contendimus eam propter immigrationes et ceteris rebus *quamvis his multo minus*, et imprimis civium numero auctam esse. Quam sententiam hoc non levissimo argumento probamus. Qui ex reliqua Græcia etc." This sense, as Göller justly remarks, would require the restrictive particle: διὰ τὰς μετοικίας αὐξηθῆναι μὴ μέντοι ἐς τὰ ἄλλα (= ἐς τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν) ὁμοίως. In my interpretation, διὰ τὰς μετοικίας is emphatic: it is supposed to be present to the reader's thoughts, that, besides the undisturbed perpetuity of occupation by the original inhabitants, there was a large increase made to their numbers by influx of a refugee population; or, in διὰ τὰς μετοικίας there is an anticipative reference to the following matter, q. d. "by the (well-known) immigrations of strangers (of which I am about to speak)." I have only to add that there is nothing opposed to my view in 12, § 3, μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνιστάμενη ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψεν. καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κ.τ.λ. For there also the meaning is, that when at last quiet and settled times came, other states besides Attica were glad to relieve

themselves, by *emigration*, of a population which, δι' ἀχρημαρίαν, they were unable to support: not, "they became powerful enough, in numbers and wealth, to send out *colonies* for the enlargement of their territory."

HENRY BROWNE.

### III. *Why was the epithet "stump-fingered" applied to St Mark?*

Attention having been rightly called (p. 87) to the connexion between the term ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος (*Philosophumena*, vii. 30) and the statement of the Latin preface to St Mark, "denique amputasse sibi post fidem pollicem dicitur," it may not be out of place to inquire if any light can be thrown on the origin of the epithet and of the narration.

Now, I have been accustomed to regard the statement in the Latin preface as having originated from what is mentioned in Acts xiii. 13, "John departing from them returned to Jerusalem;" the significance of which occurrence is shewn, ch. xv. 37, 38: "Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark; but Paul thought not good to take him with them, who *departed from them* from Pamphylia, and *went not to the work*." In this, then, St Mark seemed to act as a deserter, or as one who by self-inflicted injury had rendered his hand unfit for military service ("ut sacerdotio reprobis haberetur"). Being thus figuratively *pollice truncus*, I suppose that the notion of this as a *physical fact* arose, perhaps, about the time when any such bodily imperfection was first thought to be a canonical ground for exclusion (except in extraordinary circumstances) from all ecclesiastical offices.

It is, I think, obvious that a metaphor may have been misconceived, as though it implied a literal fact; several historical errors seem to have arisen in this way: the story that Xerxes scourged the Hellespont, and cast fetters into its waves\*, will occur to many as having sprung from giving a concrete form to figurative expressions.

\* Bp Thirlwall says that "the Greeks in the bridging of the *Sacred Hellespont* saw the beginning of a long career of audacious impiety, and gradually transformed the fastenings with which the passage was finally secured, into fetters

and scourges, with which the barbarian in his madness had thought to chastise the aggression of the rebellious stream." Hist. Greece ii. 281; also in a foot-note; "The origin of the story is sufficiently explained, as the commentators on



The rest of the account of St Mark in the Latin preface ("sed tantum consentiens fidei prædestinata potuit electio, ut nec sic in opere verbi perderet quod prius meruerat in genere") may have sprung from the subsequent testimony of St Paul, "Take Mark and bring him with thee; for *he is profitable to me for the ministry.*" 2 Tim. iv. 11.

These were the conclusions which I had formed from the Latin preface only; and in this way I accounted for all that was stated without supposing that St Mark inflicted on himself a bodily injury with the intention of excluding himself from an office for which there is no reason to suppose that the loss of a finger would *then* have been any disqualification.

The passage in the *Philosophumena*\* carries us yet further back as to the statement applied to St Mark, and here it may very well be figurative, and so far confirmatory of the opinions deduced from an analysis of the Latin Preface. The collocation, Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος, οὗτε Μάρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος, seems to present

Æschylus and Herodotus have<sup>2</sup> remarked, by the lines of the poet, Pers. 745 [751 Blomf.] :

ὅστις Ἑλλησποντον ἱερὸν, δοῦλον ὥς, δεσ-  
μώμασιν  
ἤλαψε σχήσειν, ῥέοντα Βόσπορον ῥέον  
θεοῦ."

The next line,

καὶ πόρον μετεῤῥύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυ-  
ρηλάτοις  
περιβαλὼν

and one previous,  
μηχαναῖς ἔξευεν Ἑλλης πορθμὸν, ὥστ'  
ἔχειν πόρον.

may seem especially to meet the *very terms* used by Herodotus, and they may have misled his informant, who, having witnessed the performance of the Persæ, may have carried away these impressions on his *ear*. May not the story have grown *in part* from some of the more illiterate having connected σφυρηλάτοις with σφυρὸν? Hence may have been suggested what Herodotus expresses by πεδέων ζευγος. The *caution* of Herodotus is amusing: he could not believe *all* that he had been told; branding the water with hot irons was beyond

his power of belief, not so the story formed from poetic epithets having been *literalized*.

\* M. Emmanuel Miller has made needless corrections in the text of the *Philosophumena*, against some of which I protested while he was transcribing the work for publication; during which time I read a considerable portion of the original MS. as I was occupied in the examination of MSS. just beside him. One of these passages is vii. 36 (p. 258), where the MS. reads (as is rightly given at the foot of the page), after mentioning Nicolaus, one of the seven deacons, οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνύβριζον τὸ ἄγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου ἠλεγχε πορνεύοντας καὶ εἰδωλόθουτα ἐσθλόντας. Miller's two corrections ἐνυβρίζοντας and Ἰωάννης change the whole scheme of the sentence, and take away the testimony which it gives to the Apocalypse, as proceeding from the Holy Ghost. It appears as if the term ἐνύβριζον were thought harsh when applied to the Holy Ghost, but when one conjectural change had been made another was needed to support it.

a contrast in the epithets: neither Paul, that pre-eminent Apostle, nor yet Mark, whose shrinking conduct procured him such a designation;—thus, looking, as it might be said, at the extremes of those who had written for the teaching of the Church. All notion of this contrast in the passage has been lost by those who have sought to *correct* ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος.

In some of the *oral* discussions regarding the Philosophumena when the book first appeared, I remember that I heard this word condemned as a corrupt reading; while at the same time it was considered that its present form gave rise to the story in the Latin Preface, that St Mark had mutilated his hand for so singular a purpose. But on every ground the reading is defensible, and it seems to me to connect itself very naturally with the figurative notion of *pollice truncus*, to a misunderstanding of which I had previously ascribed the curious narration.

Philological inquiries and investigations have their value, even though no *direct* results should be apparent; but in this case there is some real importance in the inquiry; for if St Mark the evangelist received the epithet of κολοβοδάκτυλος on the grounds which I have assigned, it identifies him with “John, whose surname was Mark,” who has been thought by some to be a different person.

S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES.

#### IV. *On an Article in the Proceedings of the Philological Society.*

Vol. II. p. 57.

It seems to be admitted that the poets of the Alexandrian school have not unfrequently mistaken the meaning of the words and phrases they found in Homer; and Mr Malden has endeavoured to shew that the same remark may occasionally be made with respect to the best Attic writers. In support of this view he has principally relied on two passages in Aristophanes and two in Æschylus. The subject is so curious that an attempt to examine the force of what he has said may have some interest. Aristophanes is the writer whom Mr Malden first cites. He is charged with mistaking the meaning of the word *προθέλυμος*. On the passage in which this word occurs in the “Knights,” line 526, Mr Malden does not appear to rely, as in itself constituting evidence of the charge, remarking only that Aristophanes must

be supposed to have used the word here in the same meaning as in the passage quoted from the "Peace," line 1176 :

οἱμοι, ὡς προθέλυμνόν μ' ὦ Τρυγαῖ ἀπώλεσας.

On this he observes, "there can be no question that in this line Aristophanes meant to make the Crest-maker say, Alas, how utterly hast thou destroyed me, Trygæus! and understood the word to mean, literally, 'torn up by the roots'." It seems, nevertheless, evident that unless one had heard that the word had so been translated by others, it would have been impossible even to guess that any notion of the kind was in the writer's mind. The circumstance that the scholiast so interprets it suggests the possibility that Aristophanes may likewise have done so; but surely it retains a mere suggestion of a possibility. There is no such *solidarité* between authors and their annotators as would entitle us to make the former responsible for the errors of the latter. Moreover, judging from the text alone, there does not seem any necessity for translating the word by "utterly."

The error of the scholiast, for we cannot doubt but that he was in error, arose, we may concede to Mr Malden, from two passages in the Iliad, I. 537 and K. 15. In the former passage :

πολλὰ δ' ὅγε προθέλυμνα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ  
αὐτῇσι ῥίζησι,

Mr Malden's rendering is that the trees are thrown to the ground "one upon another," for which phrase he probably would not have objected to substitute the equivalent one "in a heap"—and in the latter passage :

πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους ἔλκετο χაίτας,

he renders it "by handfuls," which again seems equivalent to "by wholesale." Now, if in an English play under circumstances similar to those of the passage in the "Peace," one of the interlocutors were made to say, "You have smashed me all of a heap—you have ruined me wholesale," the phrases, though neither very accurate nor very elegant, would be felt to be intelligible and to the purpose. Now, if this be so, why need we suppose that Aristophanes misunderstood Homer, or that he was "a careless reader" of the writings, with respect to which it has been remarked, that they were to the Greeks a kind of Scripture.

Æschylus is the next summoned, and the first substantive charge against him is founded on a passage in the Eumenides,



lines 788—9, and, in fact, upon the single word *δύσκηλον*. From this it is inferred, and with much probability, that he conceived the first syllable of the Homeric word *εὔκηλος* to be the adverb *εὔ*, the root of the remaining part of the word being the same as that of *κηλέω* and *κηληθμός*. Now to this resolution of *εὔκηλος* Mr Malden has two objections; the first that *εὔκηλος* and *ἔκηλος* are identical, and that the root of both is that of *έκών*; and the second, that the meaning of *κηληθμός* is utterly alien \* from that of *εὔκηλος*. Taking the second objection first, we may remark that *κηληθμός* relates to absolute tranquillity, and that, according to Mr Malden, *εὔκηλος* or *ἔκηλος* signifies “quiet or tranquil in the sense of undisturbed, at one’s pleasure, according to one’s will; so that it is applicable not only to persons in a state of repose, but to persons actively exerting themselves if not opposed or interrupted.” But, if it is applicable to persons in a state of repose, how can its meaning be utterly alien from that of *κηληθμός*, which manifestly expresses the idea of perfect repose? Even if it had been asserted that the word was exclusively applicable to persons actively exerting themselves, and permitted to do so freely, surely the transition from a dictum simpliciter to a dictum secundum quid is one which we meet with constantly in the history of language. This remark makes it difficult to understand why the way in which Æschylus uses the word in the “Seven against Thebes,” line 220 :

*ἔκηλος ἴσθι μηδ’ ἄγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ,*

should be spoken of as a departure from the Homeric usage. On this line Mr Malden does not found a distinct charge, but, to speak legally, he seems to lay it as an overt act of the tendency to innovation, which led to the formation of the word *δύσκηλος*.

Again, with respect to the other objection, we may concede the identity of *εὔκηλος* and *ἔκηλος*, without of necessity admitting that the first syllable of the former is not the adverb *εὔ*. The

\* In denying that there is any connexion of meaning between *ἔκηλος* and *κηλέω*, Mr Malden departs from the authority of Buttmann, who, on the contrary, is disposed to derive the latter word from the former. Against this view it might be objected, that in the instance which he alleges as parallel,

the initial vowel appears to be merely the euphonic prefix so frequent in Greek, and not a part of the root. But, if the initial *ε*- may thus be omitted, perhaps we might be justified in regarding *δύσκηλος* as a contracted form of *δυσέκηλος*. See further on the conjecture I have hazarded with respect to the latter form.

question then takes this shape, which of the two forms is to be regarded as the primitive one? for there is nothing in Mr Malden's explanation of the connexion between them which tends to shew that ἔκηλος is so. On the contrary, he says, "Perhaps there is no example precisely similar; but there are many examples of transposition in the opposite direction, when the digamma has become a mere aspiration;" and he goes on to instance the Homeric word εὐαδε, replaced in Herodotus by εἰαδε, and to mention two other similar cases. Thus, on Mr Malden's own shewing, it is, *à priori*, more probable that ἔκηλος comes from εὐκηλος than *vice versâ*, and there is no other difficulty in the way of our coming to this conclusion, than his previous remark that "it is plain both from the force and the sense, and this also Buttmann has pointed out, that ἔκηλος has a common root with ἐκών and ἐκῆτι." Now, without looking at any other passages than those which Mr Malden has quoted, and of course, if there had been any other more decisive in favour of the connexion with ἐκών, he would have alleged them, we see, that in none of them does ἔκηλος or εὐκηλος imply, necessarily, any reference to the idea of volition. It seems, undisturbed in the natural and obvious sense of the word, in all the passages alike. There remains, therefore, only the question of the connexion between ἔκηλος and ἐκών, as shewn, not by the sense of the former word, but by its form. In favour of this connexion we have the great authority of Buttmann\*, but still the matter must finally stand thus,—whether the evidence, formed wholly on the form of the word ἔκηλος, is sufficient to make it probable that Æschylus mistook the real nature of the word εὐκηλος, and to overcome the tacitly admitted presumption in favour of the hypothesis that εὐκηλος is a more primitive form than ἔκηλος; not to mention the difference of accent between ἔκηλος and the adjectives with which it is compared.

After all, too, in estimating the probability of an error on the part of Æschylus, we must take into account that of the existence of an error in the reading of the line in the Eumenides. This probability in the case of a word found nowhere else, and of a play in which the text is corrupt, is not to be neglected. If, for instance, Æschylus wrote δυσέκηλος, his departure from

\* Buttmann, however, regards Ἐρυτος as the original form of the name Εὐρυτος.

etymological accuracy could only amount to this, that he transferred to an inanimate object a word applied by older writers exclusively to persons. On this view most of what Mr Malden and Buttmann have said might be adopted without any imputation resting on Æschylus, and we might perhaps venture to go further and enquire whether there is not an etymological connexion between εὖ and ἐκών. Comparing the former word with the Latin usage, and bearing in mind the double form οὐ and οὐκ, we might conjecture that the adverb once existed in the form εὐκ, and that the κ was subsequently lost, the hiatus between εὖ and the initial vowel of any other word being naturally less felt than in the case of a negative particle. In illustration of the connexion between the meanings of the two words, we might refer to the German wollen and wohl. To the same family of words might be added, those in which the κ had received an aspirate, εὐχή and its derivatives. "We pray for, and we boast of that which we account good." Here, again, other languages would illustrate what, of course, is only offered as a conjecture. Thus the resemblance of precor and pretium—beten and besser—corresponds to that between εὐχή and the words previously mentioned.

Another charge against Æschylus is founded on his use of the word *ἰότητι*, which Mr Malden would translate "by the purpose—by the device—by the countenance." But the passage he has quoted from the *Odyssey*,

οὐ μέντοι ξείνου γε καὶ Ἴρου μῶλος ἐτύχθη  
μνηστήρων ἰότητι,

shews that speaking strictly this rendering will not always do, for "according to the purpose," and "by the purpose," are surely different. May we not, on the other hand, in this case and in all, render it by "so as to suit?" Thus, in the passage just cited, the rendering would be "the fray did not turn out so as to suit the suitors." If so, we perceive why a different case is used in the passage Mr Malden next writes :

μὴ δὲ ἐμὴν ἰότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων  
πημαίνει Τρῳᾶς τε καὶ Ἑκτορα—τοῖσι δ' ἀρήγει.

The word in which apparently Juno does not mean to deny that what was going on suited her, but only that she was not responsible for it; "not *because* it suits me does Neptune, &c." The phrase in the *Prometheus Bound*, l. 557, *ἰότατι γάμων* would



thus mean simply "in accordance with the marriage festival." If we were again to indulge in any etymological conjecture, we might say that the original meaning of *ἰότης* was "unison," and connect it with the Homeric word *ἰός*; thus *ἰότης* would primarily have the same signification as *ἐνότης*.

R. L. ELLIS.

V. *St John* xiv. 30, 31.

Οὐκέτι πολλὰ λαλήσω μεθ' ὑμῶν· ἔρχεται γὰρ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων, καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἵνα γνῶ ὁ κόσμος ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ καθὼς ἐντολὴν ἔδωκέν μοι ὁ πατήρ, οὕτως ποιῶ. ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν.

The words καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν are now generally understood to mean 'he hath no power over me,' so that, as a friend has remarked to me, they ought to be separated by something more than a comma from the preceding clause, belonging, as they do, much more closely to that which follows. Thus it would not be very difficult to supply an apodosis to the clause ἀλλ' ἵνα κ.τ.λ., were it necessary. But, in fact, the apodosis is actually expressed, though concealed by an erroneous punctuation, being contained in the words ἐγείρεσθε, ἄγωμεν ἐντεῦθεν. Instead of saying, 'That the world may know My sonship by My obedience, I will go,' our Lord as it were suits the action to the word, and says, 'That the world may know . . . Arise, let us go.' Thus the narrative itself calls attention to His departure as the act by which He went voluntarily forth to foreseen death. Precisely the same form of speaking occurs in another speech of our Lord's, *St Matthew* ix. 6, 7 (repeated by *St Mark* ii. 10, 11), ἵνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ γῆς ἀφίεναι ἁμαρτίας (τότε λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ) "Εγείραι, ἄρὼν σου τὴν κλίνην, καὶ ὑπάγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου. It is a little strange that Olshausen, who sees clearly the solemn significance of the act of departure, should not have been led to a punctuation which brings it out so strikingly. I need hardly point out the effect of the contrast between the conscious self-devotion which these words imply, and the parable immediately following, doubtless suggested, as every one has seen, by some object meeting His eye at the time.

VI. *Explanation of certain hieroglyphic signs.*

No one as yet appears to have correctly described three of the signs of the hieroglyphic alphabet which I propose to notice.

The sign which Bunsen calls a *knee*, and Osburn a *wedge*, is evidently the *horn of an altar*. It appears in a variety of shapes; sometimes as a right-angled triangle, sometimes as a quadrant, sometimes as a quadrant with the arc pushed inwards in the middle. It represents *k*, or rather, as Dr Hincks argues, the Hebrew ק (*q*). It was probably the initial of the Egyptian word corresponding to the Hebrew קרן, found in other languages as *képas*, *cornu*, etc.

The sign called a *concave stone* or *hill* (Osburn, Nos. 50, 51) is the *hearth of an altar* with horns at each end. It represents *h*. It may possibly have been the initial of a word corresponding to the Hebrew הָרָאֵל, Ezek. xliii. 15.

Lastly, the sign known as a *vase on a stand* (Bunsen) or a *leaf of some plant* (Osburn, No. 123) seems to be the *hearth of an altar with a flame*. It represents the letter *t*, or, according to Hincks, the Hebrew ת. The flame is perhaps that of incense; the original name of which is sufficiently indicated by a comparison of the Latin *thus*, *thuris*, with the Hebrew roots עֵתֶר, קֶטֶר, and the Arabic عطر.

Whether any words exist in the Coptic corresponding to the old words of which I suppose these signs to have represented the initials, I have not had an opportunity of examining.

J. F. THRUPP.

VII. *Aristophanes.**Acharnians*, 1104—1113.

In this very racy dialogue between Dicæopolis and Lamachus there appears a misarrangement of several verses. The lines 1109 and 1110 seem much more naturally to follow 1104 and 1105 (ἐνεγκε, φέρε, ἐξένεγκε), and it is almost inconceivable that 1108 and 1109 did not immediately precede 1113 (ὄνθρωπε παῦσαι, ὄνθρωπε βούλει, ὄνθρωπε βούλει).

I conjecture that Aristophanes thus arranged the order :

ΔΑ. ἐνεγκε δεῦρο τὸ πτερὼ τὸ 'κ τοῦ κράνους.

ΔΙ. ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς φάρτας γε φέρε καὶ τὰς κίχλας.

- ΛΑ. τὸ λοφέιον ἔξένεγκε τῶν τριῶν λόφων.  
 ΔΙ. κάμοι λεκάνιον τῶν λαγῶν δὸς κρεῶν.  
 ΛΑ. ἀλλ' ἡ\* τριχόβρωτες τοὺς λόφους μου κατέφαγον;  
 ΔΙ. ἀλλ' ἡ\* πρὸ δείπνου τὴν μίμαρκυν κατέδομαι;  
 ΛΑ. καλὸν γε καὶ λευκὸν τὸ τῆς στρουθοῦ πτερόν.  
 ΔΙ. καλὸν γε καὶ ξανθὸν τὸ τῆς φάττης κρέας.  
 ΛΑ. ὄνθρωπε, παῦσαι καταγελῶν μου τῶν ὄπλων.  
 ΔΙ. ὄνθρωπε, βούλει μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὰς κίχλας;  
 ΛΑ. ὄνθρωπε, βούλει μὴ προσαγορεύειν ἐμέ;

## Equites, 290.

περιελῶ σ' ἀλαζονείας.

Such is the reading of the MSS., the Scholiast, and his copyist Suidas. The interpretation given in the first part of the Scholium, ἀποδύσω σε καὶ παύσω σε τῶν ἀλαζονευμάτων, leads one to infer that the writer looked upon περιελῶ as the future of περιαιρέω, whereas in the latter part he clearly derives it from περιελαύνω. ἡ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρεσσόντων παύσω καὶ περικόψω τῆς ἀλαζονείας†. περιελάσω, νικήσω. The former view though supported by the great authority of Buttmann (Irreg. Verbs, p. 9. Fishl. Transl. Ed. 1) I hold with Elmsley (on Soph. CEd. Col. 1454, 5) to be erroneous. [See also Hermann on Eur. Helen. 1297.] Elmsley conjectures ἀλαζονείας, comparing 887 and 903, and is followed by Dindorf. In the latter passage it is to be noticed, that the Ravenna MS. gives νικήσαι μ' ἀλαζονείας. I believe that Elmsley's conjecture is unnecessary. The double accusative is similar to the constantly recurring expression νικᾶν τιὰ δίκην. Compare also Dem. i. contr. Stephan. extr. καὶ τοὺτους τὰς [so the best MSS.] ἄγαν κολακείας ἐπισχίσετε.

## Nubes, 247—249.

- ΣΩ. ποίους θεοὺς ὁμεί σύ; πρῶτον γὰρ θεοὶ  
 ἡμῖν νόμισμ' οὐκ ἔστι. ΣΤ. τῷ γὰρ ὁμνυτ'; ἡ  
 σιδαρέοισιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ;

I am surprised that no editor has commented upon the words τῷ γὰρ ὁμνυτε; for they must have puzzled students, knowing, as all know, ὁμνύειν τιὰ is "to swear by," ὁμνύειν τιὰ "to swear to." Still the text is right, ὁμνυτε in the usual Aristophanic vein, and peculiarly applicable to Strepsiades, wriggling in παρὰ προσδοκίαν

\* So I prefer to write. See Elmsl. on Eurip. Heraclid. 426.

† The Scholiast assumes ἀλαζονείας to be a genitive singular. The plural is

a long way preferable. Compare 332 κοβαλικεύμασιν, 887 θωπείας, 902 βωμολοχεύμασιν.



for νομίζετε or χρήσθε. In answer to "the Gods are not current coin with us," Strepsiades, instead of "what is your current coin?" substitutes "what is your current oath?"

The Scholiast has rightly understood the Poet, though he has expressed himself in ungrammatical language; οὐ πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους ῥηθὲν ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλ' ἔμιξεν ἀμφότερα. ἔδει γὰρ εἰπεῖν, τίσιν ὀμνυτε θεοῖς, ἢ τίνι χρήσθε νομίσματι. I avail myself of this opportunity to attempt a correction of a Comic Fragment preserved in the Scholiast: λεπτοῖς δὲ νομίσμασι φαίνονται κεχρησθαι Βυζάντιοι\*, διὸ καὶ Δωρικῶς εἶπεν. ἔνιοι δὲ κατὰ πολυμάθειαν δωρίζουσιν. Πλάτων Πεισάνδρῳ.

χαλεπῶς ἂν οἰκήσαιμεν ἐν Βυζαντίοις  
ὅπου σιδαρέοισι νομίσμασι χρῶνται.

The (at first sight) probable conjecture of Porson (Adv. p. 297) τοῖς νομίσμασι | χρῶνται is rightly objected to by Meineke Frag. Com. Vol. II. p. 649, "quoniam ita poetæ non dorica forma σιδαρέοις, sed vulgari σιδηροῖς utendum fuisset." Probably also σιδάρεος (see Hesych. quoted below) was the name of the coin (compare χαλκοῦς) and therefore the word had passed into a substantive. So Bekker edits in Pollux IX. 78. Βυζαντίων γε μὴν σιδήρῳ νομιζόντων ἦν οὕτω καλόμενος σιδάρεος νόμισμά τι λεπτόν, ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ "πρῶ μοι τριῶν χαλκῶν" λέγειν "πρῶ μοι τριῶν σιδαρῶν." But Reisig's correction, adopted by Meineke and Hermann, I confess does not satisfy me. They consider νομίσμασι χρῶνται as a gloss of νομίζουσιν, and read accordingly ὅπου σιδαρέοις νομίζουσιν. The quotation from Suidas (add Photius) νομίζουσιν: ἀντὶ τοῦ νομίσματι χρῶνται, is certainly tempting. But, not to mention that no one was likely when substituting the gloss for the genuine reading to alter σιδαρέοις into σιδαρέοισι (especially when he had no metrical temptation but rather the contrary), the grammarian on whose authority Reisig's correction is founded has misled him and his brother critics. I speak of the author of the "Libellus de Constructione Verborum," published in Hermann's Treatise "de emendanda ratione Græcæ Grammaticæ." In p. 384 we read νομίζω καὶ τὸ νομίσμασι χρῶμαι, δοτικῇ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης. Βυζάντιοι σιδήρῳ νομίζουσιν. This by the way does not affect at all the passage quoted from Plato Comicus. Ἀριστοφάνης, however, is simply a mistake of the grammarian or his transcriber. The passage cited is in *Aristeides Orat.* XLVI. Vol. II. p. 145, *Jebb*, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ Βυζάντιοι σιδήρῳ

\* Suid. in νόμισμα has λεπτῷ δὲ νομίσματι ἐχρῶντο οἱ Βυζάντιοι.

νομίζουσι, τούτου χάριν εἰς δίκαιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταγελᾶν. The writer of the treatise, who quotes with amusing impartiality classical and post-classical authors (Libanius and Synesius appear to be especial favourites), cites several passages from both our Poet and the Rhetorician. What then more natural than that he or his transcriber should interchange the names?

Let me now add my conjecture.—In the passages cited from Pollux, the Scholiast of Aristophanes, and Suidas, we find the words νόμισμα λεπτόν, and the Scholiast seems to me to bring forward the lines of Plato partly to shew that the Byzantine coin was a λεπτόν νόμισμα. Again, Hesychius has σιδάρει παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει ἐν Νεφέλαις, σιδάρει θεοί, ἐπεὶ οἱ Βυζάντιοι λεπτῷ νομισματίῳ σιδηρῷ καὶ ἐλαχίστῳ ἐχρῶντο\*. I conceive the fragment may be thus filled up;

ὅπου σιδάρείοσι καὶ νομίμασι  
λεπτοῖσι χρῶνται.

RICHARD SHILLETO.

#### VIII. *Ancones cauponæ.*

IN the *instrumentum tabernæ cauponiæ* Paulus (*Dig.* xxxiii. 7. 13 pr.) names *ancones*. St Augustine, with his usual minuteness, enables us exactly to determine their use, which Brissonius and Forcellini† seem to have misapprehended. (The word *anconiscus*, I may notice by the way, is not to be found in the lexicons.) “*Anconiscos autem dicit quos vulgo vocamus ancones, sicut sunt in columnis cellarum vinariarum, quibus incumbunt ligna quæ cupas ferunt.*”—*Quæst. in Exod.* 109. Cf. *ibid.* 177. § 5.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

\* I have given the reading of Porson, *Opuscul.* p. 284. The depreciatory terms in which the Byzantine coin is spoken of will hardly apply to the Bezant of the middle age, in allusion whereto Dan Chaucer saith,

“The barris were of gold full fine,  
Upon a tissue of satin,

Full hevie, grete, and nothing light,  
In everiche was a besaunt wight.”

† So also Dr Smith in his *Lexicon* just published: “a kind of drinking-vessel:” Gesner, observing that there is no authority for this signification, originally assigned by Turnebus, took *ancon* to be a *hook*, on which cups were hung.

## Correspondence.

### *Discovery of additional Fragments of Hyperides at Thebes.*

It is with great pleasure that I am able to announce that the anticipations timidly expressed in my preface to the *Orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and for Euxenippus* are now realized, a considerable number of additional fragments having been just procured by the indefatigable zeal of Mr Harris, a portion of whose letter is subjoined. It is probable that a careful examination of the pieces will enable us to combine them with each other, or with some of Mr Harris' previously discovered fragments :

*Alexandria, 3rd April, 1855.*

As I was seated about six weeks ago in the temple of the Memnonium at Thebes, a boy offered me some minute fragments of Papyri for sale, and amongst them I recognised the writing of the Orations. Having traced out the Arab, from whose stock these pieces were retailing, I took from him the contents of his basket, in which there were about seventy-five fragments, of from an inch and a half square to minute pieces; and also a roll of the same writing in which I hoped to find a treasure; but upon opening it by means of steam I discover that it is the conclusion of an Oration, of which there is but three inches and a half of writing, the rest (seven inches and a half) being margin and blank.

When I have leisure I shall paste these fragments on one or more sheets of paper, to correspond in size to the sheets of my work, but with no other arrangement than this : 1st. tops of pages; 2nd. centre pieces; 3rd. bottoms of pages. I cannot say whether these fragments dovetail into the Oration against Demosthenes, or into those published by Mr Arden. The only proper name I can find is that of Arcadia\*, which is in the roll.

I have no idea that any continuous reading can be made by putting these fragments together, but they may be of use to check conjectural readings. At the back of the roll there is written, in a running hand, Υπεριδου†. It is a singular circumstance that I should have found these fragments on the market eight years after our first acquisition. The Arab says that they were dug up from amongst the ruined houses at the Dayr il Bahri . . . I believe the Arab's story to be correct.

A. C. HARRIS.

It is much to be hoped that all persons who have at any time purchased fragments of MSS. at Thebes since 1848 will examine them, in

\* The Arcadians are mentioned in *Fragm. 5, col. 2, of Hyperides, c. Demosth. p. 36 (Ed. Bab.)*. In col. 3 it is almost certain that we should read *καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀχαιοὺς ἅπαντας . . . τοὺς δὲ Ἀρκάδας κ.τ.λ.* (CH. B.)

† Such, I think, is without doubt

the reading of the word, whose characters are copied by Mr Harris. The handwriting is the same in character as that of the title prefixed to the oration for Euxenippus. See col. 17 of Mr Arden's MS. (p. 6, Ed. Bab.) (CH. B.)



order to see if they contain any pieces of this precious papyrus. In addition to the somewhat costly copies of Mr Arden's and Mr Harris' MSS. a fac-simile of a small portion of the papyrus is given in Mr Sharpe's paper in the *Philological Transactions*, Feb. 1849, and in my edition of the *Fragments of Hyperides against Demosthenes*. Among the miscellaneous scraps purchased by Mr Arden, and pasted on cylindrical pieces of wood by the Arabs, who pass them off to travellers as genuine rolls, are five small pieces of this papyrus, three of which are tolerably intelligible.

The Hungarian libraries may also very possibly repay examination. It is not easy to divine what has become of the library of Paul Bornemiza, the exiled Bishop of Weissenborn, in the middle of the 16th century (see Vol. I. p. 408, and Vol. II. p. 109 of this Journal); but it is possible that Pesth may contain some of it, which is said to possess a library "rich in Hungarian MSS." (Johnst. *Dict. Geogr.* s. v.) There is also good reason to believe that more of the library of King Matthias Corvinus escaped destruction than has commonly been supposed.

CHURCHILL BABINGTON.

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### Notices of New Books.

*The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the ruins of her temples, palaces, and tombs.* By WILLIAM OSBURN, R. S. L., Author of "*The Antiquities of Egypt*," "*Ancient Egypt, her testimony to the truth*," etc. London, Trübner and Co. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 1104, with numerous engravings.

[THESE volumes contain the first genuine attempt to write the history of Egypt from the records of the monuments instead of from the lists of Manetho or Eratosthenes; and may be pronounced in every respect the most daring work on Egypt that has yet appeared. The author is already favourably known by his Egyptian studies; and is in many ways qualified for the task that he has undertaken. He is in the first place a skilful and successful decipherer of hieroglyphics. His work is prefaced with a complete analysis of the hieroglyphic text of the Rosetta inscription. We do not pretend to be entirely satisfied with this; even the rendering of the Greek is not faultless; but of the general correctness of the translation we see no reason to doubt. This is intended by Mr Osburn as an indication of his claim to our confidence in his other readings; and amid the fruits of his hieroglyphic studies we welcome with great satisfaction his translation of portions of the Book of the Dead. The account of this mysterious book and of the doctrines embodied in it is drawn out with considerable acuteness; and is, we think, both the most valuable and not the least interesting chapter of the work. An

indispensable requirement in the student of hieroglyphics is a good knowledge of the Coptic language. This Mr Osburn possesses in an eminent degree. He has moreover rendered himself master of all the monumental documents bearing on his subject. He has himself travelled through Egypt, and has surveyed with considerable keenness of observation not only the antiquities but also the natural phænomena of the country: his acquaintance with the latter is turned to excellent account in an illustrative analysis of the ten plagues. Last, not least, Mr Osburn combines a reverent belief in the authority of the Bible with a free spirit of historical enquiry.

Having said thus much, we are constrained to add that the volumes before us must be regarded rather as showing in how new a light the history of Egypt can be represented than as containing the real history itself. It may be that Cheops the godless was after all a national benefactor, Mykerinus the holy a clever fanatic, and Achthoes the cruel a humane and tolerant pacificator. It may be that the so-called shepherd-kings were one of the most flourishing and illustrious lines of native Egyptian sovereigns, and that the insurgent patriots under Amosis were a wild and disorderly mob of depredators and destroyers. We do not object to these conclusions for their novelty; but our experience of Mr Osburn's volumes induces us to suspend our judgment as to their correctness. The fertility of the author's imagination outshoots all the bounds of discipline. We are sure we do him no injustice in treating the account of the Pharaohs between the death of Ramses II. and the Exodus as a work of fiction rather than a history: he has grasped the facts supplied by the monuments, and then built a drama of his own upon them. In his distrust of the Egyptian accounts he sometimes overreaches himself; his ingenuity is untempered by a corresponding exercise of judgment; and he lacks that caution which leads a man to verify his reasonings when he finds them conduct to an absurd result. Hence, for example, the whimsical conclusion that the two largest of the pyramids of Ghizeh, which stand within a few hundred feet of each other, were being built, at the same time, by princes of two rival dynasties reigning on opposite banks of the Nile. The monuments clearly do not warrant this conclusion: did the royal names in Tomb No. 15, read from right to left, represent the order of succession, Loris would be the successor not the predecessor of Suphis.

Our limited space forbids us to criticise at any length the more important results at which Mr Osburn arrives. Some of the conclusions in his former work he reviews and rejects; and not, we think, for the better. In his *Ancient Egypt* he had very successfully shown that the Thracian and Scythian conquests of Sesostris (Ramses II.) extended no farther than Canaan; and we still regard his identification of the Canaanitish tribes in the hieroglyphic texts as a brilliant and valuable contribution to this department of science. He now denies that Ramses ever left Egypt at all; and assumes that the tablets on the banks of Nahr el-Kelb near Beirût were an empty and mendacious boast which the Tyrians permitted the Egyptian artists to execute in consideration of

the solid commercial advantages which were doubtless secured to them in exchange. Having thus disposed of the alleged foreign expeditions of Ramses, the author argues *à fortiori* against those of his father Sethos: the non-existence in Canaan of any tablets of the latter is of itself, he thinks, sufficiently conclusive. But have Shishak or Necho left any tablets in Canaan? We presume there is no question that *they* advanced so far; and Shishak at least was not more backward than his predecessors to engrave the records of his victories on the walls of Karnak.

One of the most remarkable of Mr Osburn's theories is that of the identity of the Egyptian deities with the patriarchs of the Bible. We shall venture to remain sceptical on this subject; and, without pronouncing any decision, shall observe that the establishment of the identity in some instances will not necessarily involve a corresponding conclusion in the rest. The identification of *Atom* and *Adam* is, etymologically, unexceptionable. *Ptah* may pass for *Phut*; but would not the author's way of accounting for the final *h* sufficiently account for the name altogether? The identity of *Osiris* with an assumed singular form of *Mizraim* is more questionable. *Amun* (in Hebrew, correctly, אֲמוֹן) hardly answers to *Ham* (חָם); and, by the way, Mr Osburn ought not to have identified *Ham* the name of the patriarch and of Egypt (חָם *Cham*, *Khemi*) with the *Ham* of the Zuzim (חָם, Gen. xiv. 5) without giving us notice, especially as the difference had been pointed out by Mr R. S. Poole. The identification on which the author lays most stress is that of the god *Num*, whom he reads *Nu* or *Nuh*, with *Noah*. Fully admitting the aquarian characters of the deity in question, and the symbolism of the water vase by which the *n* in his name is expressed, we are unable to perceive the correspondence between the patriarch who was saved from the destroying waters of the deluge, and the god who presided over the fertilizing waters of the Nile. We are well aware that the animal in the name of the latter is the ram, while the *b* in the Roman names and in *Sabacon* is denoted not by the ram but by the goat; and we are inclined to doubt whether the ram is phonetic at all. The name is sometimes written with the ram at the beginning, and the water vase omitted altogether (Wilkinson, *Mod. E. and Th.* II. p. 50). Still we see no sufficient reason for rejecting the well established pronunciation *Num*, *Nub*, or *Chnub*; and as the root of the name appears to be *nb* or *nm* with a guttural prefix, afterwards dropped, we should rather suggest that the deity may be the ancestor or the eponymus of the *Yanamim* (qy. *Yanunim*?) of Gen. x. 13, the people of *Nubia* (*Nubæ*, compare *Napata*). As the overflow in Egypt depended on the supply of water from *Nubia*, *Chnub* would thus be "lord of the inundations." Ganymede, from whom Pindar represents the Nile as flowing (Fragm. 110 ed. Böckh), is only עֲנַם, or *Chnub*, with a Greek termination; and possibly the story of his being winebearer to Zeus, and that of Zeus having compensated his father for his loss with a golden vine, may be partly explained by the similarity of his name to the Egyptian word *nb*, "gold," and to the Hebrew עֵנַב, "grapes."



In conclusion, while declining for the reasons above stated to commit ourselves to an approval of Mr Osburn's views of Egyptian history, we will only express our hope that the work will meet from all Egyptian students that attention to which the author's long study of hieroglyphics, and the industry and research that it displays, justly entitle it.]

J. F. T.

*Denkmäler der Alten Kunst, nach der Auswahl und Anordnung von*  
C. O. MÜLLER. 2te Bearbeitung durch FRIEDRICH WIESELER. Iter  
Band. ss. 105, Taff. LXXIV. Göttingen. Dietrich. 1854.

[It is an unpalatable truth, to whatever cause we may assign it, that in spite of our superior mechanical appliances, our German neighbours far outstrip us in the production of really good and accurate Maps, and well-executed volumes of Plates—of all works, in short, which require more than ordinary printing—at reasonable prices. The volume, which elicited this remark, is the First Part of the second edition of a book which has earned a well-deserved reputation as a standard work on Ancient Art. It is unnecessary therefore to enlarge upon its merits, which are well-known and appreciated. The comparison of the second edition with its predecessor is not altogether favourable to it, but the points of inferiority are only such as might have been anticipated. The plates have in many cases been retouched, and what they have gained in distinctness, they have lost in fineness of outline. But the difference is not considerable, and the work will still maintain its high character for faithfulness and beauty of execution. On the other hand, some additions have been made which are not very numerous, but, as far as they go, are valuable. But the real superiority of the second edition over the first consists in the letter-press, which is considerably enlarged. This portion of the work, which is only subsidiary to and explanatory of the Plates, grew under the hands of Müller, at the suggestion of others, as the book advanced, and the result was a want of uniformity in size and matter. This anomaly is corrected in the second edition. At the same time the latest views on the works of art engraved in the Plates have been added, and constant references introduced to the most recent writers of note; while the new editor, with a becoming reverence for his master's handiwork, has throughout distinguished his own additions from the original matter by enclosing them in brackets. We were glad to see numerous references to Braun's 'Ruinen und Museen Roms',—a work, which, while carefully avoiding all display, unites an extensive knowledge with a deep appreciation of classical feeling and an enthusiastic devotion to the cause of art, though with occasional dashes of the Germanesque, which will provoke a smile in sober-minded Englishmen. We venture to step out of our way to recommend Dr Braun's work, which has now appeared in an English dress, not only as a traveller's manual, but also as a lively and suggestive companion to those who have only the opportunity of studying ancient works of art in books, such as that which is under review.

If *Müllers Denkmäler* should ever come to a third edition, as we trust it will, we would suggest that the letter-press might be considerably improved without occupying much additional space. If a few words were added by way of preface to each section, in explanation of the principles and characteristics of the different schools of art, the work would then serve as an independent text-book, and the admirable selection and arrangement of the illustrations would be rendered more instructive than it is at present.]

J. B. L.

*M. Tullii Ciceronis Commentarii Rerum suarum, sive de Vita sua. Accesserunt Annales Ciceroniani, in quibus ad suum quæque annum referuntur quæ in his Commentariis memorantur. Utrumque Librum scripsit W. H. D. SURINGAR, Litt. Dr. Gymnasii Lugd. Bat. Rector. 2 pts. 8vo, pp. xvi. and 512, viii. and 513—864. Leidæ, E. J. Brill. 1854.*

[PERHAPS no field of ancient literature has been more thoroughly explored than that which is the subject of M. Suringar's researches. Middleton's biography, notwithstanding the applause which his indiscriminate praise of his hero drew from Niebuhr, has long been acknowledged to have been deficient in critical scholarship, even for the time in which it appeared, and from its constant striving after "fine writing" is one of the most tedious of books. The excellent treatise of Abeken, *Cicero in seinen Briefen*, lately brought within the reach of English readers, and more particularly the comprehensive labours of Drumann and of Brückner, might seem so to have pre-occupied the ground as to make a new "Life of Cicero" a work of supererogation. M. Suringar meets this objection by a double plea. *First*, he maintains, that many points still remain obscure or have been altogether neglected by his predecessors; *secondly*, that his plan is so different from theirs, that they cannot interfere with one another. This plan is that so successfully pursued in the "*Mémoires pour servir*" of Tillemont, and, when patiently and carefully worked out, as it is by Tillemont and Suringar, must produce a *κτῆμα ἐς αἰὲς*, an authoritative text, which, for the critical student, no popular comments, even of a Gibbon, can supersede. "Mihi proposueram," exclaims our author, with the enthusiasm of a true scholar, "ut nihil in his Commentariis legeretur nisi quod ab ipso Cicerone esset scriptum. Quam laudem, quantacunque sit judicent alii, sed assecutum me esse profiteor. In omnibus enim, quæ hic legenda dedi, hanc mihi semper servavi legem ut omnino abstinerem quidquam de me addere; et hoc tantum non nefas esse duxi, si permitterem mihi licentiam vel verbi alicujus formam nominisve casum mutandi vel copulam interponendi. Moriar autem, si vel unam trium verborum sententiam de me addidisse convincar. Tanti scilicet mihi fuit integram servasse ipsam Ciceronianæ orationis sanctitatem."

The second part of the work (*Annales Ciceroniani*) contains under each year references to the corresponding portions of the *Commentarii*,

with such extracts from Cicero as could not be worked up in that mosaic, and other references to, or extracts from, Plutarch, Cæsar, &c.

On the whole, the work may be recommended as one of the most valuable aids which the student of Cicero's speeches and letters can possess; we may add that many historic doubts might for ever be set at rest, if the leading characters in history were thus left to tell their own story.]

J. E. B. M.

*Kirchen-Lexikon oder Encyclopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften.* Herausgegeben unter Mitwirkung der ausgezeichnetsten katholischen Gelehrten Deutschlands von Dr. HEINRICH JOSEPH WETZER und Dr. BENEDIKT WELTE. Freiburg in Breisgau, Herder. 11 Vols. 8vo. 1847—1854.

[THIS Cyclopædia which is now complete with the exception of a supplemental volume in course of publication, is intended to furnish Catholics, lay or clerical, with a repertory of accurate information on all points connected with the Bible, the Church, and their opponents. Like the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, which is conducted by some of its contributors, it gives a very favourable impression of the present state of Catholic theology in Germany. Indeed on comparing it with its Protestant rival Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie* we have in general found its articles far more thorough, more complete and exact in the citation of authorities, and displaying a greater acquaintance with the literature and history of other countries, especially of England. For instance, Dr. G. Weber in the *Real-Encyclopädie* speaks repeatedly of the profound research which distinguishes Burnet's History of the Reformation, one of the most blundering and most partial books in our language, as M. Haas in the *Kirchen-Lexikon* truly describes it: *Seine Kirchengeschichte ist selbst von Protestanten für ein übereiltes und gänzlich parteiisches Werk erklärt worden.* In the *Kirchen-Lexikon* the authorities are generally appended to each statement: the *Real-Encyclopädie* is often contented with a popular sketch, reserving its list of sources, where it gives any, for the end of the article. It should however be remarked that each lexicon supplies in great measure the defects of the other: in one a Catholic Saint, in the other a Protestant Theologian or Missionary finds a devout admirer; or perhaps a Matter may exhaust the subject of Gnostic symbolism in the one, while the other, weak in that point, betrays a master's hand in others. One advantage, it is obvious, the Protestants must maintain throughout their work: owning no infallible authority upon earth, they are under no obligation to defend positions critically untenable: it is melancholy on the other hand, to see men of learning and candour, men holding in their hands the key to all the treasures of knowledge which German industry has amassed, argue seriously (as M. Marx does here and Ritter in his Church History) that doubts respecting the miraculous virtues of the Holy Coat originate in settled hatred against Christianity.



Among its many merits the work before us can boast that of extreme cheapness: each volume, consisting on the average of 1000 pages, costs about six shillings: so that the price of the whole, with the supplement, will not exceed four pounds.]

J. E. B. M.

*Romaic and Modern Greek compared with one another, and with Ancient Greek.* By JAMES CLYDE, M.A. Edinburgh, (London, Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) 1855.

[THIS little work (which is appropriately dedicated to Professor Blackie) embodies "the result of eight months' observation and inquiry on the spot" into Modern Greek, whether as spoken by the vulgar (*Romaic*), or as employed by the educated in writing or speaking (*Modern Greek* in the special sense). It seems well fitted for its purpose, "to assist the inquiries of those who would enter on a detailed examination of the surviving dialects, whether by reading at home, or by visiting Greece; whilst the merely curious will find in it that summary of information and examples which they desiderate." Being thrown into the form of a disquisition it contains many historical particulars which could not have found place in a grammar, and which add greatly to its interest: at the same time enough grammatical detail is supplied to enable a reader before familiar with Ancient Greek at once to enter on the perusal of modern writers.

Mr Clyde is no doubt right in maintaining that many anomalous inflexions in Homer and other ancients may receive illustration from forms now in use; Modern Greek, like patristic and scholastic Latin, has a value, beyond its intrinsic merit, from the light which it casts upon a more classical literature; still we cannot think that young students should turn from Pindar or Thucydides to Soutzos or Trikoupes; for the generality a very slight acquaintance with the chief peculiarities of a decaying language will surely suffice; to such Mr Clyde's hints may serve as a substitute for, rather than an incentive to, wider research in this almost untrodden field.

We may remark, in conclusion, that the book has more than a fair proportion of misprints: Boekh (p. 13), Matthias (*Matthiæ*, p. 29), αἰτη (p. 14), and other like deformities somewhat distract the reader's attention.]

J. E. B. M.

*The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland* (Part I.), edited, with translation and notes, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D. Dublin, 1855, pp. 120.

[THE subjects treated in this volume, which appears among the publications of the *Irish Archæological and Celtic Society*, have doubtless a peculiar interest for our neighbours on the other side of the Channel. They are entitled (1) *The Alphabetical Hymn of St Sechnall*, or Secundinus, in praise of St Patrick, (2) *The Alphabetical Hymn in praise of St Brigid*, attributed to St Ultan, bishop of Ardbreccan, (3) *The Hymn of St Cum-*

main *Fota*, in praise of the Apostles and Evangelists, and (4) *The Hymn, or Prayer, of St Mugint*. But the interest of such Hymns is not by any means confined to Ireland, nor to the comparatively small circle of scholars who turn their thoughts to Celtic literature. Every person desirous of becoming acquainted with the antiquities of the Irish Church, as it existed before the English Conquest and the introduction of English Service-books, may reap a harvest of trustworthy information in the study of the present volume. The translations and exhaustive notes of Dr Todd, the very learned Editor, as might indeed have been anticipated from his previous labours in the same sphere, leave almost nothing to be desired. We would especially invite the attention of our theological readers to Note B (pp. 64 sq.) entitled 'St Brigid the Mary of the Irish.']

C. H.

*Mer-cur-ius or The-word-maker, an Analysis of the structure and rationality of speech, including the decyphering of divers truths that are figured through the veil of language.* By the Rev. HENRY LE MESURIER, M.A. Second Master of Bedford Grammar School. Late Fellow of New College, Oxford. Longmans, 1855.

[If it were not for a few paragraphs upon the verb and the distinction between the matter and form of language, which appear to us to possess merit, we should have treated this pamphlet as a *jeu d'esprit* directed against certain philologists of our time.

The style is inflated and unnatural, overrun with Sanscrit and other intruders (e.g. *guna*, *anusvara*, *dageshed*, *segolation*: not to mention affectations like *extrorsal*, *undefected*); of the derivations we believe we may safely say that three-fourths are not merely incorrect but absurd. We offer a few specimens for our readers' amusement.

p. 71. "Thousand is thought's-end."

"The last syllable of *judgement* is the participle of the verb to *mean*, and signifies *object of thought*; . . . thence *means* as in *monument-um*."

73. "The formal part of *kingdom* is the perfect of the word *deem*. *Godhead* is compounded of the verb *heed*, of which *hood* in *manhood* is the perfect." Is Mr Le Mesurier aware of the German terminations *thum* and *heit*?

75. "*pa-lð-s*, a little *papa*; we observe the same diminutive in *ma-id*, a little *mama*."

78. "I have identified the article *τό* through its proper form *τόδ* with the English thought."

84. "Soul is probably *ἑολος*, whole or essential self."

135. *Mundus*, *modus*, *mud*, *môt*, *mouth*, *mother* = *mouther*, are all attached to the same stem, though not, we are happy to see, without some scruples of conscience on the part of their genealogist.

What does Mr Le Mesurier mean by *ἀπέστολε*, *he hath sent*, p. 52.

It is unfortunate that the discoveries of German scholars have led many of their English admirers to a total disregard of every canon of

criticism. The safe path of induction is abandoned for conjectures unworthy of the days of Schrevelius, which are delivered by our new etymologists as from some Delphic tripod. If they are not yet too much infatuated to listen to reason, we would beg them to consider what possible result is to be expected from such a bewildered jumble of words and languages, but the degradation of the science of philology itself.]

J. B. M.

*Platonis Protagoras. The Greek Text revised, with an Analysis and English Notes.* By WILLIAM WAYTE, B.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Deighton, 1854.

[THIS neat volume makes no pretension to originality either in the text or the notes. The former is derived almost entirely from the Zürich edition; the latter reproduce in a convenient shape the substance of Stallbaum's commentary. Little is done for the elucidation of the arguments of the dialogue; the grammatical peculiarities however are often well explained; here the editor acknowledges his obligations to the practised scholarship of Mr Shilleto. On the whole we believe that no English edition of any part of Plato will be found so useful as an introduction to the chief difficulties of his style.]

J. B. M.

*Thucydides, Book VI. From the Text of Bekker. With Notes chiefly Grammatical and Explanatory.* By the Rev. PERCIVAL FROST. Cambridge, Macmillan and Co. 1854.

["I have not treated Thucydides historically, nor politically, but grammatically. I have, to the best of my power, carefully explained the usual particles, defined constructions, accounted for compounded verbs, and so on, wherever I thought, and indeed know, mistakes are likely to occur." In these words Mr Frost fairly describes his edition, which seems better adapted than any other (except perhaps Krüger's) to initiate young students into the mysteries of Thucydidean syntax. We hope that this specimen of his labours may meet with such a reception as to encourage him "to complete the entire history," as he promises in his Preface.]

J. E. B. M.

### Contents of Foreign Journals.

Baur u. Zeller's theolog. Jahrb. Tübingen 1855. No. 2. The 2 Epp. to the Thess., by Baur. Critical investigation of the time of Justin Martyr, by Volkmar. The conception of the Apoc. in relation to imperial history, by Baur.

Berlin: Monatsbericht d. Königl. pr. Ak. d. Wiss. 3 m. 1855. On his own universal linguistic alphabet, by Lepsius. On a Greek inscription (see this Journal, ii. 98—105) by Curtius. On the tragic poet Moschion, by Meineke. On documents (sent by Dr. Pauli) from the archives of the Tower, by Pertz.—March. On a hieroglyphical inscription in the temple of Edfu, by Lepsius. On inscriptions



from Asia Minor sent by Dr. Baumeister, by Gerhard. Contributions to the history of Hellenic lunar cycles, by Boeckh.

Gerhard's Denkmäler.—Nos. 67—69. Tydeus, by O. Jahn.—Comic Writers (Cratinus with his wine-bottle) and Comic scenes, by Panofka.—On the covering of the feet, by Panofka.—Buzyges, by the same.—Difference between the Dioscuri, by Mercklin.—Homer's pillars of Heaven, by K. Friederichs.—Sculptures in Greece, by Bursian.—Greek inscriptions from Athens, by A. v. Velsen.—Vase (the Persian king, found in Apulia), by Minervini, &c.—No. 70. The throne of Amyclæ, by L. S. Ruhl.—Aphrodite Pandemos Epitragia, by Lajard (and by Gerhard in No. 71).—Athnakis, by Panofka.—Sculptures of the Parthenon, the twelve gods in the front frieze, by Welcker.—Zeus Geleon, by Preller.—No. 72. Priam with Achilles, by Gerhard.—On the chest of Cypselus, by Preller.—Vase of Midias, by Th. Pyl. &c.—No. 73. 1855. The Harpies' monument at Xanthus, by E. Curtius.—The Cretan Dionysius, by Preller.—Talos, son of Kres, by Panofka.—No. 74. Cora returning, by Gerhard.—Sculptures of the Parthenon (inner frieze), by Petersen.—Hermes, the god of gold, by Panofka.—No. 75. Tablet in honour of Cassander [*Journal of Philology*, No. 4, p. 99 seq., where after τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν the words τῶν περὶ Φοινίκην were inadvertently omitted], by Curtius.—On Pausanias I. The curtain in the Olympian temple, by L. S. Ruhl. In the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* No. 75. Art. 11, are notices of the *Inscriptiones Sprattianæ* (printed in our last number), by Gerhard and Curtius.

Göt. Gel. Anz. 1855. Nos. 1—4. (cf. No. 20). On Julien's *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645 par Hœi-Li et Yen-Thsong*, &c., traduite du Chinois, by Theodor Benfey.—No. 4. On Schwarz's *Lessing als Theologe*, by Holzhausen.—No. 8. On Auberlen's *Der Prophet Daniel*. On v. Siebold's *Juvenal's sechste Satire*, by Ed. v. Siebold.—Nos. 11 and 12. On the *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, by M. Uhlemann.—Nos. 13—15. On the *Corp. Paræmiograph. Græc. vol. 2.*, by Leutsch.—Nos. 15 and 16. On Donaldson's *Jashar and Ewald's Jahrb. d. Biblischen Wissenschaft*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 17—19. On Mitchell's *Sophocles*, by Leutsch.—Nos. 19 and 20. On Bopp's *Vergleichendes Accentuationssystem*, by H. E[wald].—No. 24. On Conington's *Epistola Critica*, by F. W. S[chneidewin]. ("Unter diesen [*Verbesserungsvorschlägen*] scheinen uns mehrere sicher oder doch sehr ansprechend.....Bemerkt mag aber noch werden, das Hr Conington kürzlich Berichten und Nachträge in seinen *Remarks on some of the Greek Tragico Fragments* bekannt gemacht hat. Diese finden sich in der neuen Zeitschrift, welche in Cambridge seit dem vorigen Jahre unter dem Titel erschient: *The Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*. Die uns bis jetzt vorliegenden zwei ersten Hefte zeichnen sich durch werthvolle Arbeiten und reiche Mannichfaltigkeit des Inhalts aus. Indem wir daher dem neuen Unternehmen das beste Gedeihen wünschen, wollen wir nicht unterlassen, dasselbe bei dieser Gelegenheit der Aufmerksamkeit auch unsrer Landsleute bestens zu empfehlen).—No. 25. On Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana and African native literature*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 27 and 28. On Polybii *Hist. Excerpt. Gnom. ed. Heyse*, by Leutsch.—No. 28.—On Dümmler's *Pilgrim von Passau und das Erzbisthum Lorch*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 29—32. On Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind. Philosophical Section* (Vols. iii. and iv), by H. E[wald].—No. 32. On Rozière's *Formules Wisigothiques*, by G. Waitz.—No. 36. On Arndt's *Bemerkungen üb. einige Stellen d. Sophokles*, by F. W. S[chneidewin].—No. 40. On Brandes' translation of Kemble's *Saxons in England*, and on Noordewier's *Nederduitsche Regtsoudheden*, by G. Waitz.—Nos. 41—44. Lindner's *Lehrb. d. Christl. Kirchengeschichte*, by Holzhausen.—No. 45—47. On Schambach and Müller's *Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen*, by W. M.—No. 48. On Hesiodi *Scutum Herc. ed. v. Lennep*, by F. W. S[chneidewin]. On Hand's *Fund von Lengerich im K. Hannover. Goldschmuck und römische Münzen*, by G. Schmidt. Nos. 49—51. On

Hofmann's *Der Schriftbeweis*, by Fr. Düsterdieck.—No. 52. On Mejer's *Die Propaganda*, by W. M. sen.—Nos. 53—58. On Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, by Theodor Benfey.—Nos. 58—60. On Böhringer's *Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen*, by Holzhausen.—No. 60. On Schmidt's *Didymi Chalcenteri fragmenta*, by F. W. S[chneidewin].—Nos. 62—64. On Brühl's *Geschichte der Kathol. Literatur*, by Holzhausen.—Nos. 65, 66. On F. de Saulcy's *Recherches sur la numismatique judaïque*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 66—68. On Vahlen's *Ennianæ poesis reliquiæ*, by F. W. S[chneidewin]. In No. 3 of the *Nachrichten von der G. A. Universität*, &c. is a description of many coins, some inedited, added to the University's collection by the zeal of Consul Borrell of Smyrna.—No. 69. On Müller's *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen*, by H. E[wald].—Nos. 70—72. On Müllenhoff's *Zur Geschichte der Nibelunge Not*, by W. M.

Hoefer's Zeitschr. für d. Wissensch. der Sprache.—Vol. iv. pt. 2 (1854). On the particles of comparison in Greek and allied languages, by G. F. Schömann.—Augustine on Etymology (S. Aug. de dialectica), by Dr. Crecelius.—On the Romance languages, by the same.—Nicknames in the Roman Satirists, by Dr. Häckermann.—Remarks on Low-German, by J. G. L. Kosegarten.—On Heathenism, name and thing, by Holzapfel.—On the Etymology of Greek names, by Dr. H. Düntzer [*Ὅμηρος; Τυδεύς, Τυνδάρεως, Πολυδεύκης; Δαιστρυγών; Πρωτεσίλαος, Παλαμήδης*].—Latin Etymologies, by Dr. Crecelius. [*Amarus; mare*].

Journal des Savants. Dec. 1854.—On Van de Velde's Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine, Art. 1. by M. Quatremère.—Jan. 1855. On Bussemaker and Daremborg's edition of Oribasius, Art. 1. by M. Littré.—On Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, Art. 7, by M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire.—On Mommsen's *Inscriptiones regni Neapolitani Latinæ*, Art 3, by M. Hase.

Jahn's Jahrb. Vol. 71, 72. part 2. On the idea and significance of the mythical and heroic period, with special reference to the Homeric legends, by Planck. — Investigations of the cosmical system of Plato, by F. Susemihl.—On several treatises illustrative of Cicero, by K. Halm.—On Frei's *Rechtstreit zwischen P. Quinctius und S. Nævius*, by W. Rein.—On the commencement of Livy's history, by C. Wex.—Passages of Curtius in the Pseudo-Callisthenes, by J. Jeep, Part 3.—Planck's article on the mythical and heroic period concluded.—On certain passages in Sophocles Aj. 921 sq. Ed. C. 1418 sq. 658 sqq., by K. W. Piderit.—On the meaning of *κίνησις* and *γένεσις* in Plato, by J. Deuschle.—On Welcker's *Pnyx oder Pelasgikon?* by L. Ross.—Four dissertations on Livy, by Madvig, Wiedmann, Freudenberg, and Queck, reviewed by H. Heerwagen.—Critical remarks on several late Poets, by Klotz and others.—Part 4. On different kinds of Rhythms and Rhythmopœia, by A. Rossbach.—On the forms of the infinitive in the 4th foot before the bucolic cæsura (in continuation of an article in Philologus), by M. Schmidt. Schneidewin on the Trachiniæ, by L. Kayser.—On *præ* and *pro* with *negligere, contemnere*, and the like, by Trojel.—On Numa's Cycle (Liv. i. 9), by A. Mommsen.—On the Battle of the Trebia, by K. Niemeyer.—On Jan's *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis historiæ libri xxxvii*. Vol. 1, by Urlichs.—On the Cæsares of Aurelius Victor, by J. Maehly.—On a Pythagorean symbol (Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 17), by F. Latendorf.

Mnemosyne. Tijdschrift voor Classieke Litteratuur. Leyden, E. J. Brill. Vol. iii. 1854. Quæstiones Lucianæ, scr. E. Mehler.—Notes on the Wasps of Aristophanes, by Dr. H. G. Hamaker.—Davidis Ruhnkenii emendationes selectæ. (on the Latin Anthology). Excerptis E. Mehler.—Andocidis oratio de reditu. Scr. S. A. Naber.—Variæ Lectiones. Scr. C. G. Cobet.—A supposed fragment of Trogus Pompeius, by W. N. Du Rieu.—Notes on Cæsar, by Dr. D. Terpstra at Gouda.—Iamblichi de Ægyptiorum Mysteriis collatio Jacobsiana. Scr. Doct. E. Mullach, Berolini.—De Cyrilli, Archiepiscopi Alexandrini, lexico inedito. Scr. E. Mehler.—The four Orphic friends of Pisistratus, by Dr. B. ten Brink.—Notes on inscriptions. 1. The

goddess Vagdaver, by Dr. L. J. F. Janssen.—Critical Remarks, by Dr. N. J. B. Kappeyne van de Coppello.—Review of A. H. G. P. van den Es *Annotationes ad Lycurgi Orationem in Leocratem*, by S. A. Naber.—Specimen of a restoration [from Florus, Eutropius, Orosius, and the Epitome] of Livy's lost books, by J. A. van der Chijs.—On the Roman census, by E. J. Kiehl.—Herodotea. Scr. S. A. Naber.—Miscellaneous conjectures. (Cicero, *Orationes*).—Adversaria. Schneidewin on Æschylus, by E. J. K.—Novus Archilochi versus. Scr. Doct. B. ten Brink, et E. J. K.—Aristoph. Ach. 201 sq. Scr. Doct. J. M. van Gent.—*Peace* 335 foll. by E. J. K.—Scholia to the *Wasps* 1291, and *Peace* 565, by E. M.—Lemmata scholiorum Aristoph. restituit E. M.—Eurip. Iph. Taur. 812, by Z. te L.—Hieronymus on Job, by Dr. B. ten Brink.—Hom. Od. I. 283 foll. O. 434 foll., by Dr. J. M. van Gent.—Schol. on Il. E. 704, by S. A. N.—Lys. Agor. 133. (xiii. 42).—Plat. Gorg. p. 453 C, by Dr. D. J. van Stegeren at Arnhem.—Alliteration in Plautus, by S. A. N.—Pollux i. 50. Scr. Doct. J. M. van Gent.—Marius Plotius Sacerdos. Scr. Doct. B. ten Brink.—Suidas s. v. Ἰβυκος, by the same.—Thuc. iv. 120, by Dr. J. M. van Gent.—Vol. iv. 1855. Pt. 1. Herodotea. Scr. S. A. Naber.—Hor. S. i. 6. 3 foll., by E. J. K.—Emendationes in Grammat. Gr. Scr. E. Mehler.—Review of D. H. Jurjens, *Disquisitio literaria de democratia apud Athenienses origine et processu*, by E. J. Kiehl.

München Gel. Anz. Vol. 39. Class 1. Nos. 27, 28. On Bonitz' *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Thukydides*, by G. M. Thomas.—No. 29. On Kempf's *Valerius Maximus*, by K. Halm.—Vol. 40. Class. 1. Nos. 1—3. On Nipperdey's *Tacitus*, by E. Wurm.—Nos. 3—5. On Steinheim's *Aristoteles über die Sklavenfrage*, by L. Schiller.—No. 5. On Zahn's *Pompeii Herculaneum und Stabiä*, by Pr.—Nos. 6, 7. On Hahn's *Der Fund von Lengerich etc. Goldschmuck und römische Münzen*, by F. Creuzer.—Vol. 39. Class 3. Nos. 19—23. On Bekker's *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, by Tafel.

Revue archéologique. Paris, Leleux. Dec. 15, 1854. Of the enclosure of the northern suburb of Paris, anterior to that of Philip Augustus, by M. A. Berty.—On the sculptures on religious monuments in the department of la Gironde, by M. G. Brunet.—Discovery of the Serapeum at Memphis, by M. A. Mariette, &c.—“Glyptic” in the Middle Ages, by M. A. Chabouillet.—On an Iberian suffix, by M. Boudard.—Gallo-Roman Antiquities found near Corseul.—Jan. 15, 1855. Explanation of a Greek inscription found at Smyrna, by M. Ph. Le Bas.—On the seven cartouches in the tablet of Abydos ascribed to the 12th Egyptian dynasty, art. 1.—Historical and archeological notice of Avignon, by M. Jules Courtet (contin. in Febr. No.)—Legend of the monk Theophilus, by M. Guenebault.—The Greek words relating to Egypt, by M. L. Delatre.—On an Arabic coin, by M. W. Scott.—Contributions to a “sigillography” of Armenian kings, by M. V. Langlois.—Feb. 15. Travels in Cilicia. Adana, by M. V. Langlois.—On Roman architecture, by M. Jules Quicherat.—On an inscription, by M. L. Renier.—On a terra-cotta vase, by M. Thiollet.

Reuter's Repertorium f. d. theol. Litteratur. Berlin. 1855. Jan. On a letter from the Greek patriarch Maximus to the Doge Giovanni Mæcenigo ed. by Thomas, by Kämmer. On Caro's *St. Dominic and the Dominicans*, Morin's *St. Francis of Assisi and the Franciscans*, and Ozanam's *Italian Franciscan poets of the 13th cent.*, by Kämmer. On Schaff's *St. Augustin*, by Köstlin.—Feb. On Schneid's *Bibl. theol. of the N. T.*, by Düsterdieck. On Krafft's *Ch. Hist. of the Germanic peoples*, by Rückert. On several hymnological books, by Sarnighausen.—April. On Stier and Theile's *Polyglot Bible*, by Wieseler. On Kurtz's *Hist. of the O. T.*, by Neumann. On Rinck's *Religion of the Greeks*, by Wutke. On Hilgenfeld's *Apostolic Fathers*, by Köstlin.—May. On Böhringer's *Biographical Ch. Hist.*, by Kämmer. On Dittmar's *Universal Hist.*, by Victor Strauss.



Rudelbach u. Guericke's Zeitschr. f. d. gesammte luth. Theol. u. Kirche. Leipzig. 1855. No. 1. A glance into the religious and moral state of the age of the Judges, by Engelhardt. Demonology, by J. F. Voss.—No. 2. The system of the Gnostic Basilides, by Gundert. The marriages of the sons of God with the daughters of men, by Keil. Talmudical Studies, No. 4, by Delitzsch.

Schneidewin's Philologus. Vol. ix. pt. 3. Contributions to a history of the Greek doctrine of the State, by Hermann Henkel.—Cato's *Carmen de Moribus* is in verse, by Ernst Kaercher.—Aristarchus' Homer (1. Augment), by M. Schmidt.—On the Preface of the Elder Pliny, by L. v. Jan.—On Stobæus, by M. Schmidt.—Greek Inscriptions, by Karl Keil.—Inscription from Ægosthena, by Schneidewin.—On the fragments of the Greek Historians, by R. Stiehle.—Historico-philological Studies, (1. Hiero's War with the Mamertines. 2. The beginnings of the First Punic War), by Dr. Campe.—The Thrasyllic tetralogies of Plato's Dialogues, by G. Roeper.—On the Division of Thucydides into separate books, by Fr. Osann.—On Aristoph. Av. 728, by W. Tell.—On Aratus, by Moriz Schmidt.—On Antiphon and Lysias, by P. R. Müller.—Platonica, by R. B. Hirschig.—On Inscriptions, by Fr. Osann.—Epimetrum Varronianorum, by Roeper.—Hor. A. P. 24—30, by L. Spengel.—Hor. S. i. 10. 64 seq., by M. Crain.—Inedited Latin Introduction to Ovid, by Dr. Müldener.—On Sallust Cat. 5, by L. Döderlein.—Epigraphica Græca, by F. Osann.—List of MSS. (chiefly Greek and Latin) in the Sultan's Library, by Dr. Mordtmann.—Monitum, by B. ten Brink.—Soph. Æd. Col. 523, by K. Fr. Hermann.—Varia (a verse of Philemon; and the Homeric αἰζήσας = ἡΐθεος, ὄζος Ἄρως and νεογιλός), by C. Volkmar.—Greek inscription from Smyrna, by F. W. Schneidewin.—On Eudocia Apollonius, Sextus Empiricus, Charito, by R. Hercher.—On Brutus' Epistles, by the same.

Theol. Quartalschrift, hrsg. von Kuhn, Hefele, Welte u. s. w. Tübingen. 1855. No. 1. Kuhn on the doctrine of the Word of God and the Sacraments.—Welte on the formation of the Canon of the O. T.—Reviews.

Theol. Studien u. Kritiken. Hamburg. 1855. No. 3. On σάρξ as the origin of sin, by Tholuck. Contrib. to the explanation and criticism of the Acts, by Schneckenburger. On Is. vii. 14, by Umbreit. Exegetical fragments [the Gospel genealogies and the name Ναζωπαῖος] by Riggenbach. On Vogel's *Ratherius of Verona and the 10th cent.*, by Engelhardt.

Zeitschr. f. Protest. u. Kirche. Erlangen. 1855. Feb. On Ecclus. iii. 13.—March. On the Christian Basilica.

Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung...hrsg. v. Dr. Adalbert Kuhn.—Vol. iv. pt. 3. The apparent irregularities of the Greek augment, by Ebel.—Religious reference in the names of natural objects, by Pott.—On the pronunciation of the Low-German in the märkische Süderlande, by Woeste.—The future in German and Slavish, by Schleicher.—Umbrian, by Ebel.—Miscellaneous, by Ebel. [Forms wrongly regarded as perfects, οἶδα, εἶμαι, ἔρχεται; ὕπαρ; vinco, νίκη, εἶκω, wichu; ἐκός.]—ulbandus (Goth. *Camel.*), by Jülg.—Individualising suffixes, by Curtius.—Review of Key's *Representatives of the Greek preposition ava*, by Ebel.—Miscellaneous, by Curtius [the Oscan *esuf*; interpres; ὅτι; the root κοF].—Lithuanian and old Italian, by Schleicher.—Vol. iv. pt. 4. The forms of the sexless personal pronouns in the German languages, by Bugge.—Αὔριον, ἥρι, by Aufrecht.—On the terms of Natural History (sprachlich-naturhistorisches), by Schmidt Göbel.—Phenomena in High-German which cannot be traced to the Gothic, by Schleicher.—The [Sanskrit] seventh conjugation in Greek, by M. Müller.—ἕμνος, by Aufrecht.—The foreign words in Uphilas phonetically considered, by Ebel.—Reviews.—Miscellaneous (latrare, actutum), by Ebel.—κλώθω, knodo, nodus, by A. Kuhn.

Zeitschrift f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft. v. Cæsar. Feb. 26, 1855.—On the legend of Medea, continued by H. Pyl.—Epigraphica, by J. Becker.—A contribution to

the History of the Quæstorship, by K. Niemeyer.—On certain points in Becker and Marquardt's *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, by E. Kuhn.—On A. Stahr's Torso. *Kunst, Künstler und Kunstwerke der alten*, by H. A. Müller.—On Wüstemann's *Unterhaltungen aus der alten Welt für Garten- und Blumenfreunde*, by Hartmann. An Appendix on ἀμφιθαλεῖς, by Mercklin.

Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. 1855. Pt. 3. Goebel. History of the rue "Inspirations—Gemeinden." Art. 3. Hilgenfeld : Marcion's Apostolicon.

### *List of New Books—English.*

- Æschylus. Short Notes to the Seven Plays. 18mo. Oxford, J. H. Parker. 3s. 6d.
- Alford, H., The Greek Testament. 2nd ed. Vol. ii. (Acts—2 Cor.) 8vo, pp. 607. London, Rivington. 24s.
- Anglo-Saxons. Original Lives of Anglo-Saxons and others who lived before the Conquest. Edited by Dr. Giles. 8vo, pp. 396. London, J. R. Smith. 10s.
- Burton, E., Lectures on the Ecclesiastical History of the First Three Centuries. 4th ed. 8vo. Oxford, J. H. Parker. 12s.
- Cicero de Officiis, de Senectute, et de Amicitia. 18mo, pp. 73. Oxford, J. H. Parker. 2s.
- Clyde, J., Romaic and Modern Greek compared with one another, and with Ancient Greek. 8vo, pp. 61. London, Simpkin. 3s.
- Congreve, Rev. R., The Roman Empire of the West. Four Lectures. 8vo, pp. 175. London, J. W. Parker. 4s.
- Cotton, Rev. Archdeacon, Rhemes and Doway : an Attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the Diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English. 8vo. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 9s.
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right hand side in Smith's *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.* p. 437 b, s. v. *Funus*, (first edit.) The slab is broken off abruptly, but in such a manner as to shew that it probably contained only two lines in its upper part: breadth about 15 inches. The letters are narrow,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch long, deeply cut, rudely formed, and colored with vermilion. The forms of the Α and Σ resemble those of the capitals now in use.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ . . . . Υ  
ΚΑΣΣΑΝ[ΔΡ] . . . . .

Ἡράκλειτος Μεν ..... υ Κασσαν[δρ].....

The graver has written ΗΡΑΚΛΕΤΟΣ instead of ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ. In the first line we have perhaps the fragments of ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΥ; but only the first two letters are certain.

# V.

*From the same neighbourhood.* An epitaph on Demaratus son of Ammonius, a famed hunter. The inscription is mutilated, being now about 17 inches broad, and 9 high. The letters are broad and neatly formed, less than an inch long: the cross stroke of the Α is bent downwards, in other respects the letters resemble the modern character. This inscription, which seems to be tolerably ancient, cannot now be read without the greatest difficulty, as most of the letters are very shallow and considerably defaced.

Ο[Ν ΘΡ]ΑΣΥΝ ΕΝ ΘΗΚΑΙΣ ΔΑΜΑΡΑΤΟΝ [ΞΕΝΕ ΛΕΥΣΣΕΙΣ]  
ΛΑΜΠΡΑ ΚΥΝΑΓΕΣΙΑΣ ΕΡΓΑ ΠΟΝΗ[ΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ]  
Ν ΓΕΝΕΤΑΣ ΕΣΠΕΙΡΕ ΑΜΜΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΣ[ΛΟΝ ΕΝ ΟΠΛΟΙΣ]  
[Κ]ΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΑ ΠΙΣΤΙ Δ ΕΞΟΧΟΝ ΑΜΕΡ[ΙΩΝ]  
ΙΚΟΣ]ΕΤΗ Δ ΕΚΛΑΥΣΑΝ ΟΜΗΛΙΚΕΣ ΟΝ[ΤΑ] . . . .  
. . . . . ΕΥΣΕΒΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ . . . . .



τὸ[ν θρ]ασὺν ἐν θήκαις Δαμάρατον, [ξένε, λεύσσεις,]  
 λαμπρὰ κυναγεσίας ἔργα πονη[σάμενον,]  
 ὃν γενέτας ἔσπειρ' Ἀμμώνιος ἐσ[λὸν ἐν ὅπλοις]  
 [καὶ βουλᾷ, πίστει δ' ἔζοχον ἀμερ[ίῳν,]  
 [εἴκοσ]έτη δ' ἔκλαυσαν ὁμήλικες ὄν[τα].....  
 ..... εὐσεβέων πατρὶς .....

We have to remark ΠΙΣΤΙ written for ΠΙΣΤΕΙ: and as it seems ΒΟΥΔΑ for ΒΟΥΔΑΙ, but the stone is so defaced that the reading of the last word is a little uncertain. The second Ε of εἰκοσέτη is likewise so injured that the reading is extremely doubtful.

## VI.

*From the same neighbourhood.* A broken piece of stone of considerable size, but mutilated, smooth and convex above, formed below like the keel of a ship, of one extremity of which it is perhaps a representation: the inscription, written from right to left, runs over one side. The figure is one-third of the size of the original. Two or three letters seem to be missing at the commencement: the inscription is certainly entire at the other end.



The letters appear to be

ΜΟΝΕΓΡΑΦΕΜΕ.

The characters of this inscription shew that it belongs to the very earliest period of Greek Palæography. See Rose's *Greek Inscriptions, Proleg.* p. xv. sqq., and the plates.

I conjecture that we should read

[Τί]μων ἔγραφέ με.

The name of the artist suggested is of course uncertain.

### *Correspondence.*

#### *Paul Bornemiza.*

PAUL Bornemiza, Bornemissa or Bornemisze, respecting whom Mr Churchill Babington makes inquiry in the last number of the *Journal* (p. 408), was bishop of Weissenburg in Transylvania, and appears to have left his diocese in 1556, owing to the general ascendancy obtained in that district by Reforming propagandists (see *Hist. of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, p. 69, Lond. 1854).

C. HARDWICK.

### *Quotations in Donne.*

THE following passages are quoted by Dr Donne without reference to book or chapter. Some of them occur very frequently throughout his works. I have been unable to trace them and should be glad of any assistance or suggestion.

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>Damascene.</i>         | Parva non sunt parva ex quibus magna proveniunt.  |
| <i>Augustine.</i>         | In talibus rebus tota ratio facti est in potentia facientis.  |
| —————                     | Aliud est hic esse, aliud est tibi esse.  |
| —————                     | Perdidimus possibilitatem boni.   |
| —————                     | Nemo flectitur qui moleste audit.   |
| —————                     | “How loth we find the blessed fathers of the Primitive Church to lack company at their sermons”.....And so St Augustine, “In hoc vobis servimus.”                           |
| —————                     | Basis Verbi est timor sanctus.  |
| —————                     | Societas patris et filii est Spiritus Sanctus.  |
| <i>Cyril Alexandrinus</i> | says, “none of the saints of God nor such as were noted to be exemplarily religious and sanctified men did ever celebrate with any festival solemnity their own birth-day.” |
| <i>Erasmus.</i>           | Sacerdotem nemo agit qui libenter aliud est quam sacerdos.  |

*Anonymous.* "...We may find in some respects a better model of a prayer in heathen and unchristian Rome than in superstitious Rome. There we find their prayer to have been, 'Aut innocentiam des nobis, aut maturam pœnitentiam....' And as we find there was in that state a public officer *Conditor precum*, that made their collects and prayers for public use, so we find in their prayers, that which may make us ashamed. At first for many years their prayer was, 'Ut res populi Romani ampliores facerent....' And after, 'Vota nuncupata, si res eo stetissent statu....' So far therefore they may be an example," &c. &c.

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... "the womb and the grave are but one point...there is but a step from that to this. This brought in that custom amongst the Greek emperors, that ever at the day of their coronation, they were presented with several sorts of marble, that they might then bespeak their tomb."

*Tertullian.* ...I must say as Tertullian said, "They have put God and that man into the balance and weighed them together, and found God too light."

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Maledicere non norat quia nec malefacere.

A. J.

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### Notices of New Books.

*An Account of the printed text of the New Testament, with remarks on its revision upon critical principles, together with a collation of the critical texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, with that in common use.* By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London, Bagster, 1854. 8vo. pp. xvi, 274, iv, and 94.

[Dr TREGELLES has done good service by the publication of this useful volume. It is probably intended in some measure to clear the way for his long-expected edition of the New Testament: but moreover it stops up a gap in English theological literature, which has been very imperfectly covered by books of wider range.

The historical part of the work, contained in §§ 1—12, is very careful and accurate; though in some cases the details are hardly given with sufficient fulness. It is written in a generous and kindly spirit, with much anxiety to give every one his due: Bentley in particular is warmly appreciated. Griesbach's text is of course decidedly condemned; but his great merit is well pointed out, as the breaker of the deadly spell which Wetstein had cast over textual criticism. It is strange however



# THE JOURNAL

OF

## CLASSICAL AND SACRED PHILOLOGY.

### I.

#### *On the Origin and Meaning of Roman Names.*

It is remarkable, considering the great general resemblance of the two languages and literatures which we specially call classical, in root and origin as to the languages, in development and full form as to the literature, that our relation and our debt to each should be so very different. Upon the whole, it may be supposed that we owe the Latin most. It is certainly the parent of our modern customs of thought to a singular degree, and very much more probably below the surface than it is apparently, though this last is much. The continuing tendency of modern research seems to be to attribute more and more of present European habit and civilization to the local element or to old surviving Latinism, and less and less to any peculiarities which may have been imported by conquering Teutons from their forests.

The modern European general system of proper names is a methodical one of family naming, which has grown up within historical times from a system of purely individual naming, and which bears upon itself so strongly this latter character, that under circumstances of solemnity, formalism, and antiquity, the Christian or individual name is the true one, and the surname only an adventitious excrescence still. In use however, which is the real mistress as to such things, the surname is now the real and principal: the generic and specific character of the two descriptions of names have become converted. Once John or

William was the proper or generic name, and Johnson, Williamson, or the name of the place of residence, additions for the purpose of differentiating or distinguishing one John or William from another: now use has altered this, and, if a man is asked his name, he mentions his surname, the Christian name serving simply as a specific differentiation, a distinction within the family.

This is nothing wonderful; but it is an interesting question in regard of it, whether it is to be considered as a type or law of the regular progress of the language of proper names with advancing civilization, or whether it is a fact arising from historical and accidental causes. For we must consider that the language of proper names in its two branches, of persons and places, is a thing with its own laws, and these different, to a certain extent, in each country and dialect: and that any loose reasoning and etymologizing about particular proper names in particular languages must be quite valueless, except so far as we understand the manner of application of such names, the history of their origin, attribution, and change. Such reasoning as, especially with regard to local names, is not unfrequent in ethnological and antiquarian investigations, where no account is taken who gave the names, who used them, what they meant by them, and what language their significance, from these considerations, is to be understood in, goes altogether at random, and can lead to no result. In the same manner the comparison, with a view to etymology, of proper names in one language with those of another needs as a preliminary, to make it at all to be depended on, an investigation of the laws of place-naming and man-naming in those countries; otherwise we do not even know what the names mean. In Mr Pott's admirable book, for instance, it is quite common to find names which are palpably in their signification local, and have passed from places to persons, from local to surnames, investigated and derived as if they were simple personal names: that is, Mr Pott, such transition not having been in the same manner the usage in Germany, reasons on English surnames as he would on German, without any account taken of this particular law and practice, and so much of course of his reasoning is useless.

Is it then to be considered that the transition, so simple and unavoidable as perhaps it seems to us, when we look how it has taken place with us, from individual to family naming, naturally

takes place with the advance of civilization according to a general law of the language of human names? Or is it a particular law and practice of our modern European languages, which has a previous cause perhaps in history, but none in nature?

The limits between history and tradition on the one side, and nature on the other, are everywhere difficult enough to draw, but nowhere more difficult than in anything relating to language. In the present case, there is against the supposition that this is a natural law the fact that nothing of the kind seems to have had even a tendency to take place of itself in the high civilizations of the East; that the highest and most perfect civilization, (so far as we can imagine civilization without Christianity), which the world probably even yet has seen, the Greek, continued to the last without any approach to family naming, and, with as much need for personal distinguishment as we have, did perfectly well without it. On the side of its naturalness is the fact that surnames are common, essentially, to all the Western and European nations, not only the evidently Latinic ones; and the fact of their previous perfect existence, as we shall see, in Latin.

An intermediate supposition, if so it may be called, may to a certain degree be made. If we use the term aristocratic in a wide sense, or if we like to express by any other word a strong attachment to family relations and honour to family and hereditary distinctions, it is evident that there is in the origin of the practice of family naming something of this aristocratic feeling, though the continuance afterwards and uniform carrying it out has been a matter of simple convenience. It is the absence of this peculiar family or aristocratic feeling which has apparently from the first, so far as one thing can be considered to have done so, differentiated the East from the West. Greece partook of both, and hence perhaps much of her once preeminent place in civilization and in literature: but in personal naming she was individual and oriental. The aristocratic feeling, which early Greek history indeed abundantly presents to us, seems yet not to have been of that dogged, unyielding, penetrative character, which moulded Rome into what it afterwards became: and there was something perhaps in the language itself of Greece, in its unlimited power of composition (which the Romans,



though they had in theirs, were too conservative to use)<sup>1</sup>, and something in the perpetual mental readiness and liveliness of the people, which helped the matter. As it was, the Greeks never either on the one side let any of their commonest names, *Dionysius*, *Demetrius*, &c., degenerate into a mere family differentiant or prænomen, never allowed any name of any kind to adhere to a family (except in exceptional cases, royal for instance) and become a surname, and never allowed any adjunct or cognomen to supplant, or take its place as a formal distinction with, the individual name. How they found names enough to distinguish each individual, we may wonder; but the fact is, that when it came to the point of distinction they did much as we do: *Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς* is about as much description as we should give now, the difference being that the Greek adjuncts never converted themselves, like the English, into real names, but the individual name was always kept living. Accidental designations also or nicknames too, as we know, (which in point of fact are the practical unformal distinctions in a state of society where names are not much written and registered), were most abundant: only they never became real or family names, as at Rome.

How much of the moral superiority of character, and final political prevalence, of the Roman over the Greek was connected with the strong family feeling of the former, and the singular absence of it in the latter, is a question which cannot but come across us in thus distinguishing their systems of naming: but our business is not just now to pursue it.

Supposing then the origination and habitual use of surnames to be not a regular law of the language of proper names, but a moral and ethnical law, a particular case of the moral character and development of nations, arising from their feelings as to family: and supposing such system of naming to have prevailed among the Romans, and now, in many countries after long barbarian intermission, to prevail again in modern times;—is

<sup>1</sup> Roman compound cognomina were so easily formed, that one wonders at the rarity of them. There were a few urban or local ones, such as *Tuscivicanus*, *Caelimontanus*: a few regular compounds like *Ahenobarbus* and *Crassipes*: some,

as *Centumalus* and perhaps *Poplicola*, are of uncertain composition, and there are some numeral compounds, like *Trigeminus*, *Tricostus*, *Tricipitinus*. These I think are the principal actually existing.

the connexion between the Roman naming and ours historical, or analogical and moral? is our practice of surnaming a Latinism, a coming out into view of the old historical stream after underground or at least somewhat hidden flow, or is it a Teutonism and modernism arising from the same renewed causes within the last 500 years in Europe from which it arose at Rome or in Italy centuries before?

This large question I am no farther going to try to answer now than by endeavouring to make out as accurately as I can what the Roman system of personal naming, as compared with ours, was: I should be glad to lay down a stone or two which might help any one towards a future building.

We must not follow too strictly the grammarians' division of a full Roman name into *prænomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*, and besides this perhaps *agnomen*, and what more besides<sup>1</sup>. Properly

<sup>1</sup> The word *cognomen* (or *cognomen-tum*) is not, like *agnomen* and *prænomen*, a compound of *nomen*, signifying an additional name, but is an independent formation, like *nomen* itself, from the verb. *Noscere* meant originally to mark or take notice of, but, as it was, went out of use to a certain degree in this sense, its preterite *nōsse* remaining in full use for 'to have marked' or 'to know': into the place of *noscere* came the after-formation *cognoscere*. Just so *nomen*, signifying originally what a thing is marked, distinguished, or recognized by, came to signify what it is described as or enumerated under, and the fresh formation *cognomen* was applied to the special name of distinction or recognition. *Nomen* was applied altogether generically, to signify large numbers, according to the Roman military or classificatory spirit, which in comparison with the whole despised individuals. *Cognomen* and *nomen*, being primarily the same in meaning, are naturally used, either of them without the other, vaguely and loosely: the fact I wish to call attention to is, that, when they are used together or contrasted, *nomen* is the whole family part of the name, *cognomen* the individual epithet. Of such

looseness in use as there was of the word *cognomen*, there were two special reasons. One was, that a man might be considered in a manner to inherit his father's *cognomen* as a *cognomen* to himself (as well as a part of his *nomen*): but this consideration with the Romans was involved with the idea of its fresh or continued applicability to himself, and hence endless confusion in Roman names. Compare the language of the elder Scipio about the name *Africanus* in the *Somnium Scipionis*. In 'Tu Maximus ille es Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem' the *Maximus* was doubtless intended significantly, though the Fabius here alluded to inherited the name from his fathers: but he deserved it too. The other reason for the looseness was, that the third word of a Roman name was that by which it most frequently happened that the man was addressed and called: and hence the Greeks called it *προσηγορικόν*, and the Romans loosely *cognomen*. For abundant instances of the relative use of *nomen* and *cognomen*, see Perizonius, *Animadv.* Hist. lib. 2. Of the use of *agnomen* I am not much aware, whether for instance it stands rightly or not in Cic. *De Invent.* 9.

speaking, the *nomen* was the family part of every full name, that part which had previously belonged to the father, exactly similar to our surname: it very constantly, as with many surnames of ours, consisted of more than one word, and in the central times of Roman history, in the case of genuine Roman and distinguished families, was pretty certain to do so<sup>1</sup>. The *prænomen* and *cognomen* made up the individual part of the name, the one preceding, the other following the *nomen*: a *prænomen* there always was, and it served for interfratral distinction in usage like our Christian name: a true *cognomen*

<sup>1</sup> Dionysius Hal. (3. 70), in distinguishing the two words of the name *Attius Navius* into a family and an individual part, does not—as we should be inclined to do, after the analogy of *Caius Marius* &c.—make them a *prænomen* and *nomen*, but a *nomen* and an *ὄνομα προσηγορικόν* or quasi-cognomen: the reason apparently being, that *Navius* is the name which he calls him by, and that the third usual Roman name seems to him, as to Plutarch, to be the real name, the *prænomen* to be a formal numeration of little consequence. At Rome, in Dionysius's time, each Roman might be considered to have his formal, his ancestral, and his colloquial (*προσηγορικόν*) name: these were used under different circumstances, and this different use it was which produced the Roman popular triplicity of name, for *in fact* the number was quite irregular: most Romans had more than one family name, and the distinction between actual *cognomina* and titles or additions was very vague. It was the colloquial or society name which the Greeks, as Dionysius above, were most ready to consider the real one.

Liddell and Scott render *ὄνομα προσηγορικόν* 'surname,' which it certainly was, though the rendering shows the exceeding difficulty of transferring from one language to another words relating to the usage of names. But in fact the best way of comparing Roman naming at the end of the republic (that is, after

it had come to its own full development, and before its Italianism was lost through mixture, and the wideness of the empire) with modern would be to leave out of consideration the gentile name altogether. The *prænomen* and third or fourth name were a Roman's two names in use, like our Christian and surnames: in this sense the *prosegoric* names were the real surnames. Setting aside our *patronymic* surnames, those ending in -s, -son, &c., which are analogous to the Roman gentile names, all our other surnames have probably their exact analogues among the Roman *prosegoric* names: and the origin in both cases is substantially the same: they are *cognomina* or epithets become family names. The Roman names, though never probably, like ours, single as regards the distinction between *prænomina* and gentile names, were once independent, like ours, of these epithetal or surnames, and we may trace the accretion of these as of our modern ones. In use, they differed from our surnames in this, that the *prænomen*, except as between brothers, was a mark rather of formality and respect, while the surname was the more familiar: this is probably the real point of Horace (Sat. ii. 5. 32)—'gaudent *prænomine* molles Auriculæ &c.'

A comparison of the Roman list of surnames with ours, which I should like to give in another paper, may perhaps illustrate the analogy.



there commonly was not. For a true cognomen, according to the natural meaning of the word, was a distinctive title or nickname given to the individual on account of something peculiar to him: the difference in this between the Roman and Greek usage was simply that the Roman cognomen was more formally adopted by the individual, and, besides this, in the next generation became very likely a branch family name, the nomen for the future consisting of two words, one a generic family name, the other a branch or specific one. Hence, in saying that the individual part of the name consisted of prænomen and cognomen, we must say in regard of the latter, 'where there was one.'

A Roman name therefore in its full form described the family, stem, branch, and bough, in a way better for historical or as we may say heraldic<sup>1</sup> purposes than any other system of naming, and better also than mediæval escutcheons with their quarterings, which marked alliances more satisfactorily than ramifications. As to the individual, Roman names lived in the head and the tail, or, taking (under botanical correction) another metaphor, they were exogenous, growing on the outside, (beginning and end), with an inert mass in the middle, not necessary to the every-day livingness and usage of the name, but of historical only and family interest. Not only cognomina, but prænomena also, became added as branch differentiants to the family name and new prænomena prefixed to them for individuals. And in practice a man's name was his prænomen and his *last* family name, that is, that representing the last branch or lowest species: so completely was it possible for the intervening part to drop from use, even when in family tradition, in connexion with family images, &c., it must have been preserved, that we may have a man's name occurring historically in every variety of usage, over and over again, and yet be unable to supply the stem family name, except by conjecture and conclusion. An instance known to every one is the case of Verres:

<sup>1</sup> Roman heraldry, or the outward signification of family distinctions, may be considered to have consisted partly in the famous custom of family images, which was closely connected with the names, and partly in the right of stamping coined money with their own badge,

which certain officers had. Thus those Marcii who bore the surname of *Rex* stamped their coins with the head of King Ancus (in fact, but for his popularity, the surname must rather have grated on Roman ears), the Flori with a flower, &c.

that he was of the Corneli<sup>1</sup> Dr Donaldson appears to have established satisfactorily, but, often as he is named, it is never otherwise than as C. Verres.

This is simple enough, so simple as perhaps to be wearisome: but it is singular how little thought has been given to it in much that has been written about Roman History. The great leader astray in this matter is Plutarch<sup>2</sup>, who is a remarkable instance how much care is needed in writing about proper names of another country or language than one's own, even so nearly connected as Rome was with Greece at that time, and when the writer is a Plutarch. He understood the proper naming of his own country, and never thinks therefore of deriving Greek names as if they were significant in the individual, as if Alcibiades was the strongest or doubly strongest among men, or Pericles the most glorious: he knew that the names were either recurring ones in the family, or common and trivial, or of hope and good omen, but anyhow not significant. But, in writing a Roman life, the first thing he does is to conclude the significance of the apparent cognomen, and to find a meaning for it<sup>3</sup>: this significance he finds sometimes in the individual, sometimes in a predecessor in the family: but always with the appearance not

<sup>1</sup> The passages cited by Dr Donaldson in the paper referred to (*Proceedings of the Philolog. Soc.* vol. 4) are very illustrative both of the distinction of nomen and cognomen, and of the dropping out of use of the old gentile name.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be remembered that in this Plutarch is true to himself, that is, puts on Roman feelings to write a Roman life, only that perhaps he a little overdoes and misapplies them. The livingness of names was extraordinary among the Romans, and they punned upon them in a manner which would shock our propriety, at the same time that they drew moral lessons from them with very little regard to history. Every one knows how Cicero rings changes of ridicule on the name of Verres. It is only remarkable that the exceeding openness of the Roman surnames to ridicule of

this kind did not produce the fashion of abstaining from it: but perhaps it is the same (as we should call it) want of good taste, a remarkable want from first to last among the Romans, which caused in the first instance the very large number of surnames descriptive of bodily defects (comparatively few of such nicknames having become surnames in modern times) and caused afterwards Cicero's punning. The Romans thought much of 'fausta nomina': the Greeks did not seem to think much of the significance of their names, with the exception of some remarkable cases of *omination*, (like that of *Hegesistratus* in *Herodotus*), nor to pun on them.

<sup>3</sup> His derivation of the gentile name *Æmilius* from *αἰμυλος* is of a different nature, and is connected with the supposed early relation of that gens to *Pythagoras*.

so much of delivering a historical fact, as of guessing something he was bound to give an account of<sup>1</sup>.

Plutarch was a wise man, and had of course some reason in what he was doing: and, though probably in his time living Roman cognomination, except as to grand titles, had come to an end, yet it existed at the time of most of his heroes, and any third or fourth word of a Roman name *might* have been a cognomen, though neither he nor we have right to assume it was. His account of the giving of the cognomen of *Magnus* to Pompey is reasonable, and has every appearance of truth<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In respect of Cicero, Plutarch has a story that he was advised to drop or change his name, but answered that instead of that he would make it more famous than that of Scaurus or Catulus. The story is utterly without point, for *Cicero* as Roman names went was a very good name, and could not be considered of any disagreeable significance, like *Scaurus* and so many others, and the two names compared with it can have no sort of reason for their juxtaposition. The idea of dropping a family name for its signification was utterly un-Roman, but in Cicero's time there was a sort of Greek idea of honorary cognomination abroad, which might have given some occasion for the story. Pompey, for instance, so far as we can tell, took the name of *Magnus*, (which was much too empty, undistinctive, and ambitious for a true Roman cognomen, though others besides Pompey, a Roscius for instance, Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc. Am. 6, bore it), in stead of his father's cognomen of *Strabo*, perhaps with the idea that Cicero's advisers had. This name of *Magnus* had been half taken, in a similar manner, by the younger Scipio before.

The celebrated *cicer* or wart like a vetch or pea is not attributed by Plutarch, in the case of Cicero, to his own nose, but to that of one of his ancestors, who, Plutarch sagely concludes, must have been a most distinguished man, for his descendants not to have been ashamed of the appellation. In the case

of Sulla, he attributes the red or spotted face which the word was supposed to mean to Sulla himself, though *Sulla* was a family name as well as *Cicero*. (See Morelli.)

But returning to Cicero, the Roman list of *herbal* surnames is a curious one, without any modern analogue that I know of. Pliny (knowing nothing about the *wart*) considers *Cicero* and others of them to have arisen, 'ut quisque aliquod optime genus sereret.' But, with the disregard common then for consistent or analogous derivation, he derives *Piso* a *pisendo*, putting among the *herbal* surnames *Fabius* and *Lentulus*, whose position there is doubtful, *Fabius* being only a gentile name, and *Lentulus* being as probably a diminutive from *lentus*. But *Piso*, *Cicero*, *Cæpio*, *Tubero* are evidently names closely analogous. *Tubero*, however, like *Dorso* and *Tubertus*, may mean 'hunchback.'

<sup>2</sup> Pomp. 13. Plutarch's account of the origin of the name of *Sura* among the *Lentuli* (Cic. 17), a very curious story, is not altogether improbable. But of all surnames the most difficult to understand as to *their application* (except on the supposition of badges or signs) are the independent substantives like this (not descriptive or names of trades). Some of them may be of application natural enough, as *Bestia*, *Asellus*, *Vitulus*, and *Catulus* (if a substantive), even perhaps *Lupus*, *Taurus*, *Scrofa* (about which however there is a Joe Miller



But it is to be noted that the ripeness and rampancy of cognomination in the later days of the republic and the high aristocratic families (in some, as the Metelli<sup>1</sup>, it was as regular as with the Ptolemies) was a Greek, or rather not Greek but Oriental, anything but Roman, fashion.

The cases however of really historical cognomination are after all comparatively but few, and, where there is an account of such, we generally find it to be a family tradition assigning the origin, perhaps remote, of a branch family name. Many of these traditions are indeed truly Roman. Such is that of the name *Lænas*, mentioned by Cicero (Brut. 14), in honour of the Popillius who first bore it, that, as he was once performing solemn sacrifice as Consul and Flamen in his *læna* or sacrificial dress, a sudden sedition and riot of the people against the fathers and government was announced; but that on his coming forth in his sacred dress the majesty of his presence and power of his address at once appeased it. The origin of the name *Prætexiatus* among the Papirii, related by Macrobius, if we may venture to divide it in half and detach the comic story (too long to tell) associated with it, is characteristic and not improbable<sup>2</sup>.

story) &c.: but the famous Decian surname *Mus*, also *Musca*, *Merula*, *Merenda*, *Fimbria*, and abundance more,—how they can have ever been epithets we cannot imagine. Seneca (de Brev. Vit. 13) gives an account of the origin of the Claudian cognomen *Caudex*, that it means a raft, and that the first who bore it was the first who persuaded the Romans ‘navem conscendere.’ fact, reason, and application seem all alike wonderful. The story of the origin of the name *Scipio* is well known (Macrobius, Sat. 6), that the first Scipio for his filial dutifulness in supporting his father received his name of ‘Staff’: the substantival application is intelligible here, but the story seems an instance showing that for such application the circumstances must be peculiar.

<sup>1</sup> The two most multicognominal families seem to have been the Fabii and the Metelli, and the former in their surname *Maximus* anticipated and out-

did the later *Magnus*: but this name, both as to its superlative form and its ambitiousness, is nearly singular. The superlative form for a cognomen is however intelligible enough: the comparative *Nobilior*, of the Fulvii, is more remarkable.

<sup>2</sup> It is on occasion of this name of *Prætexiatus* that Avienus, one of the Macrobian interlocutors, asks a most alarming question for all etymologists of surnames: namely, “cum nullus sit qui appelletur suo nomine vel Togatus vel Trabeatus vel Paludatus, cur Prætextatus nomen habeatur.” The answer is ‘Casus,’ and the historical story alluded to in the text. But ‘casus’ in general, and where there is no historical story to give, is unsatisfactory: and the principle of selection among similar objects for surnames is a terrible crux. On any theory, of signs or other, we may ask like Avienus, How is it that so many people are called Lamb, or Bull, whereas

The order of a Roman name was not of any very particular consequence, except so far as that the regular ordinary prænomena would come first, and the stem family name as much as possible in the middle. There are several words which are commonly described as being used either for prænomena or cognomina<sup>1</sup>. What is thus described consists of two facts. One, that in the later times of the republic, when the special family feeling, though it had come to its height, was rather through luxury, mixture of foreign custom &c., losing its simplicity and genuineness, the use of prænomena became more irregular, and parts of the family name which had dropped, old cognomina in the family, names from connected families, or even honorary titles, came to be given as prænomena. Hence, as a strong case, the confused nomenclature of the earlier Emperors: adoption a good deal contributed to this confusion. The other fact which has caused it to be said that many words are prænomena and cognomina both is that certain names attached to particular families occur sometimes written before the stem family name, sometimes after it: in the earlier times commonly *before*. Whether in this latter use they were prænomena in the ordinary sense of the word, that is, served for distinction between brothers, or whether they were family names put before the stem one (sometimes with us now we find whole families, besides their particular Christian names, bearing a sort of family Christian name common to all),—we cannot well tell. Everything is of course uncertain in the earlier history, though probably the names and the usage of them less so than anything else, because this is what the family traditions would most truly preserve. If we could suppose ourselves to find an irregularity of names in the earlier times of the republic yielding for a time to system, and then reappearing again in the later, it might be one argument

nobody is called Cow, or Horse, or Sheep? How is it that the surname of Moon exists, and not that of Sun? As no answer but 'chance' in some shape can be given, it may perhaps be concluded that surnames must have arisen from not a very large number of individuals: and possibly that the spread of some caused the extinction of others. But one thing is to be considered, that Avienus then, and we now, have but a very

imperfect idea of what surnames have existed, or even do exist, and the necessary *partialness* of all reasoning about names is the great difficulty of it.

<sup>1</sup> Such words are *Opiter* and *Proculus*, of the Virginii, *Hostus*, *Vopiscus*. *Agrippa*, *Volero*, perhaps *Mamercus*. *Julus* and *Fusus*, as cognomina of the Julii and Furii, are in many respects analogous to them. But on this more needs saying than I can say now.

to induce us to believe the former to have been a period of aristocratic growth and systematization, as the latter undoubtedly was a period of decline: but we cannot probably know much about it.

It is to be observed, that Roman titular cognomina were at all times much more common than from merely reading the history we should be led to imagine. It is only those attached to the most famous individuals, or else those which passed into family names and became grammatical cognomina, that we easily become aware of. The great mass of them have not made their way out of the *Fasti*. What is to be thought of the early names apparently of this kind which rise above the surface, is a very vexed point. We have no canon to distinguish honorary titles from mere local designations, and *Collatinus*, *Coriolanus*, and many others, may be the one or may be the other: the fact of the real abundance of such honorary titles might lead us to suppose they would be the former, only that this very abundance would naturally cause any of the latter, if they did arise, to be interpreted in the other way.

The relation of the cognomen to the nomen, which I have thus endeavoured perhaps to set in a little clearer light than we generally look at it in, is not very difficult: that of the regular prænomen to the nomen is more difficult, and in some respects, so far as we can make it out, more interesting, as bringing us nearer to the origin and principle of the whole system. It is also that which most properly bears upon the question with which we started, how far the Roman system of family names is to be considered, and whether historically or analogically, connected with our own. Still, it was impossible to pursue it properly without the considerations, relating to the cognomen, which have been given above.

The subject is so extensive, that anything like a full investigation of it, if it is to be made, must be deferred till another paper: but we may perhaps for the present say, that, so far as we can consider the system of Roman naming independent of cognomination, (that is, consider the relation of prænomen and nomina alone), we seem to come to something different both from the Greek and modern systems. These last, so far as the individual names are concerned, are similar: that is, while our modern system is Roman in its use of family names, it is like



Greek, not like Roman in its native individual names, those I mean not introduced by religious usage from sacred sources. The old Saxon individual names, in use now as Christian ones, are the counterpart in signification of many Greek names, and the two are readily intertranslatable.

But, in piercing backwards towards the origin of Roman naming, we do not seem to get towards any system of single individual naming, but only towards two different systems of binominalism. Varro says indeed that the Romans had originally only one name: but this seems merely to mean that Romulus and his supposed contemporaries are described with one only, even if we are to suppose this true, which it hardly is. Romulus had his second name of *Quirinus*, and others of the time, both men and women, have their two names together,—*Titus Tatius*, *Acca Larentia*, *Rea Sylvia*;—the binominalism appears from the first.

The peculiarity of this binominalism is, that in certain cases it is necessary, the separate names will not stand by themselves, or, as we may say, the whole name is bi-adjectival. Thus *Quintus*, the fifth, will not stand by itself to identify a man, nor will *Lucilius* (the son of Lucius): but *Quintus Lucilius*, 'the fifth son of Lucius,' will mark him. Thus the existence of the merely numerational prænomena, *Quintus*, *Sextus*, &c., which appear as early as any, plainly imply a family name with which they must have gone: at the same time the universal termination of the gentile or family names in *-ius*, which we must consider patronymic or adjectival, shows that neither could these have stood by themselves, and formed individual names, like our Christian names. The root of Roman designation, in this line of investigating it, is not true naming, but cataloguing as belonging to a family or gens. For a long time in Roman history women were named in no other way<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks, so far as they were able to form a consistent idea of Roman naming at all, may be said to have come practically to the conclusion we seem to be arriving at here, namely that the Romans had no *individual* name at all, such as theirs were, (and as our Christian names once were). That the gentile or central name was not such, they clearly understood, no person of any family im-

portance being called or known by it: some considered the prænomen the individual name: on which Plutarch, who on the whole seems to have thought so himself, observes that in that case Roman women had no names at all. On the other hand, against those who considered the *third* name (as Plutarch terms it, not ἐπώνυμον, cognomen) the true individual name, Posidonius urged

But it is clear that besides this sort of binominalism, if it is so to be called, there was another, which, so far as we can judge, was general in Italy. What this second binominalism arose from, is more than I can at present follow out: possibly from an usage of adopting a name from both father and mother's family: and to a certain extent probably from bilingualism, one name being an interpretation of the other, or an addition to it in another language and for another city. Anyhow, if there is one thing we may conclude about old Italian names in general, it is that they were bivocabular.

I will leave for another paper such an etymological classification and analysis of Italian and Roman names as I can make: the nature and purpose of the names—much in fact which has been said in this paper—is best illustrated by such an analysis, but there has not been room for it. Other avocations have prevented this paper from being digested as I wish it had been, but the reader will make excuse.

J. G.

the fact, that many Romans had but two; the three famous ones who were in this case having been, besides Coruncanius and some other ancients, Marius, Sertorius, Mummius. It is remarkable that this last, though he had a true cognomen, *Achaicus*, mentioned by Plutarch in this place, is not considered by him to have had what he calls a third name, by which he means a second family name. He and the others belonged to none of the ancient families which had branched out. (Plut. Mar. 1.)

In the later times of the republic, the names *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia* &c., used to distinguish daughters, began apparently to become real names, that is to be applied arbitrarily, without regard of their numerical significance. At

least so Perizonius tries to make out. (Animadv. Hist. c. 3.)

The Greeks, though they did not consider the gentile name the true individual one, yet used it, whenever for any reason it was most convenient to their purposes, to designate the man by, as Pausanias uses *Atilius*, (Achaic. c. 7, fin.) His account there of the Roman system of naming is interesting. The system was so strange to the Greeks, that Plutarch repeats his explanation of it almost with each life: in his *Coriolanus* (11) is an elaborate comparison of the Roman cognomina with the Greek royal epithets, with no mention of the somewhat important distinction of the first becoming possibly hereditary, the second not so.

## II.

*Latin-English Lexicography.*

"Ein Schriftsteller, der seine Vorgänger nicht zu übertreffen und seiner Schrift nicht nach Vermögen die möglichste Vollkommenheit zu geben sucht, verdient nicht den Namen eines ehrlichen Mannes." SCHELLER.

*Literature.* Du Cange, *Præf. Gloss.* Walch, J. G. *Hist. crit. Ling. Lat.* ed. 3. Lips. 1761. Fabric. *Bibl. Lat.* ed. Ern. iii. 316—455. Nolténii *Lex. Lat. Ling. Antibar.* vol. ii. Berol. 1780. (contains a complete list of Lexicons &c.); *Præf. Lexici Rob. Steph.* ed. Lond. An article "Ueber die Einrichtung eines Thesaurus der Latein. Sprache," in Wolf's *Analekten* ii. 2, by Köler. Pellissier, "Recherches sur les lexiques anciens," in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1836. pp. 119, 329. Gräfenhan, *Gesch. der klass. Philologie* u. s. w. ii. 266 seq. 323 seq., iv. 205—247. Lersch, *Sprachphilosophie der Alten*, i. 92 seq., ii. 143 seq., 223 seq., iii. 113 seq. Grässe, *Lehrbuch einer allg. Litterär-gesch.* u. s. w. i. 537 seq., 742 seq., ii. pt. 1. 794 seq., pt. 3. 663 seq. Engelmann's *Bibliotheca Philologica*. Dr Otto, "Ueber den gegenwärtigen Stand der lat. Lexicographie nebst Andeutungen zur Verbesserung derselben," in the *Allg. Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft u. Litteratur*. Braunschweig, 1853. pp. 990. Hand, *Lehrbuch des lateinischen Stils.* ed. 2. 1839. Book i. cc. 4, 5 (History and character of the Latin language).

[This list is intended to assist the inquirer who wishes to take a comprehensive view of the general subject. Otto's article, though not free from errors, contains a good rough sketch. Köler's is confused, but has much useful matter. Pellissier unfortunately I have not seen, nor Walch. Above all the student should read carefully the prefaces of all the chief Lexicons. But more of this anon.]

IN the days when no man could be content with his name until he or a wittier friend had twisted it into an anagram,—had found, as they would phrase it, the *omen in nomine*,—in those merry times it was said or sung of the Augustinian monk Ambrogio da' Calepio<sup>1</sup>, that men did well to call him *Calepinus*, who like a true *pelicanus* fed a brood of lean plagiarists on his own best blood. A rapid survey of the history of Latin-English Lexicography will bring before us many such ill-requested *pelicans*, whose labours deserve to be held in grateful remembrance, and whose very errors may be instructive to those who, ambitious

<sup>1</sup> On the Oglio, between Bergamo and Brescia. Calepinus, like Lambinus, enriched the French Lexicons. *Calepin* is a note-book, or common-place-book.

Our Cambridge epigrammatist Duport cannot resist the temptation of punning on such a name as Ambrosius Calepinus (*καλὸς—πίπειν*. *Museæ subsec.* p. 132).



of new conquests in this department of scholarship, would employ themselves upon it to the best advantage.

Lexicography, strictly speaking, is an offspring of modern science<sup>1</sup>. The wellbred Roman despised every literature but his own and the Greek<sup>2</sup>, *sermones utriusque linguæ*; nor did he master his one foreign language, as dead languages must be mastered, by the help of dictionaries. It was taught in Italy, more and more generally from the end of the second Punic war, by educated slaves, by grammarians (*grammatici*, *litterati*) in their patrons' houses or in their schools, nay, at last, to scandalize Tacitus<sup>3</sup> and all sober Quirites, by *Græculæ ancillæ* in the nursery.

These exiles, it need scarce be said, brought with them the most approved treatises of their craft (*τέχναι*, *artes*); thus while in Greece grammatical analysis was called forth by, and exercised upon, an existing national literature, the growth of Latin, as a written language, was greatly influenced by foreign rules of art. The Greek philosophy of language was transplanted fullgrown into Italy; and they who desire to penetrate into the principles which quicken and support the offshoot, must seek the first germs of the parent stock in the etymologies of Homer<sup>4</sup> and the dark oracles of Pythagoras<sup>5</sup>. They must watch its fortunes as it was

<sup>1</sup> See the Preface to Grimm's Dictionary; also Alex. Flegler in the *Allgem. Monatsschr.* 1853. p. 284, where he remarks that one powerful instrument of the lexicographer, comparative philology, was wanting to the most cultivated Greeks and Romans, partly on account of their scanty stock of materials, but mainly because they had not attained to the "universelle Standpunkt," to which the Christian doctrine of the unity of mankind has raised us. The sharp distinction which they drew between the Græco-Roman and the barbarian world made them overlook those finer points of contact, which soften down the transition from the rudest to the most cultivated nations.

<sup>2</sup> Krause (*Geschichte der Erziehung* u. s. w. Halle, 1851. p. 280) cites Fr. Cramer, *dissert. de studiis quæ veteres ad*

*aliarum gentium contulerunt linguas*. Sundiæ. 1844. 4to.

<sup>3</sup> Dial. c. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. his derivations of Odysseus, Astyanax, *ἐλέφας* (*ἐλεφαίρομαι*), *κῆρας* (*κραίνω*). *Odyss.* xix. 562 seq., *Lersch* iii. 3 seq., *Gräfenh.* i. 154 seq., where may be seen numerous examples of significant names (*ὀνόματα ἐπώνυμα*), from Hesiod, the Orphic lyric and tragic poets. Euripides in particular, "the etymologer among tragedians" (*Etymol. Magn.* s. v. *Ἀμφίων*) did much to foster a grammatical spirit among his countrymen. The names Aias, Helene, Polyneices, will occur at once to the reader. From *Aristot. Rhet.* ii. 23 § 29, it would seem that such allusions abounded in hymns to the gods.

<sup>5</sup> He taught that of all things, saving always the prerogative of number,

tended, dwarfed, or dissected, by philosophers, sophists, and grammarians; by the Socrates of Aristophanes and of Plato, by Protagoras, by Prodicus, by Aristotle, by the Stoics, by the schools of Crates and Aristarchus; amid the porches or the walks of Athens, and the lecture-rooms of Pergamus and Alexandria. They will then learn that the mighty eloquence, the subtle discrimination, the free and natural music, of the orators, the philosophers, and the poets of antiquity, were no lucky godsend; but silently ripened in minds open to receive knowledge by every avenue of sense, and long trained to observe the facts, and to speculate upon the origin and the laws, of language. They will recognize with a glad surprise that that is no novel distinction, which they have felt rather than consciously propounded to themselves, between the common ground and the special characteristics of language. Their mind's eye, long schooled in the severe training of facts and outward law, unsealed at last in loving contemplation of the masterworks of Art or of the simple Nature of their spoken mother-tongue, will on a sudden be blest with the intuition of the inner law, which gives oneness of light and life to phenomena manifold and seemingly discordant: they will pierce beneath the veil to the Idea, that bright *Form* of Truth, which (as Plato said at once in sober seriousness and in accents of divinest poetry), would, if revealed to sight, enrapture all men with its enchanting beauty; for it would shine by its own light. Or, to change the image, a key will be placed in their hands, which will open ways long barred up by hopeless difficulties and seeming contradictions: finding that it fits so many locks, must they not needs believe that it is a master-key? But if these laws, once beheld in their full glory, can no more be lost from view, so long as reason's light remains unclouded, than the sun in a clear sky can be hidden from the eye that is open to behold it; there still remains work enough to keep the memory and the understanding employed to the end of life; there will still be new facts to collect, or forgotten facts to recover, to store up, and to classify: the arts by which students have set up their empire over some leading principles, must still, as the historian observes of a less peaceful dominion, be active to consolidate past, and to pave

the lawgiver was the wisest: "because," says Proclus, "he had the sagacity to

discover what sound best expressed the nature of the thing." Lersch, i. 25.

the way for future conquests. In other words, the grammarian who has attained to a philosophic insight into the principles of philology must not cast down the ladder of observation by which he has risen; must still be content simply to record many phenomena, as isolated, unexplained facts, which may be remembered as anomalies, until further knowledge and thought enable him to refer them to their true class. For all that is pure matter of usage he will still, as when a timid beginner, refer to his lexicon or to his notes. The distinction thus roughly laid down, which is indeed but another form of the Pythagorean *συστοιχία*<sup>1</sup>, and which has itself been variously expressed<sup>2</sup>, was so far from escaping the keen eyes of the ancient masters, that they tasked all their powers, some to maintain one or the other alternative in exclusive supremacy, others, to reconcile both by the mediating truth, that individual differences no more exclude substantial unity in Language, than in the State or in the Church the freedom of the individual conscience derogates from the paramount majesty of Law.

On these lofty themes one would gladly dwell, if only in the hope of inducing one scorner to pause before he curls the lip at those servants of truth οἷσι μέμηλε τὸ σφῖν καὶ τὸ σφῶν καὶ τό μιν ἡδέ τό νιν. No simple tirō, no one who is not cased in the three-fold brass of shameless ignorance or of narrow selfishness, will refuse to drink of those streams which, rising in the well-head of Homer, roll ever deeper and fuller and clearer as they receive tribute from bard and sage, from orator and statesman, from physician and divine, from Socrates and Plato, (to name but a few out of many), from Aristotle, Chrysippus, Aristarchus, Galen, Cato, Ennius, Lucilius, Varro, Cæsar, Augustine<sup>3</sup>. They

<sup>1</sup> The One and the Many, the Bounded and the Infinite &c. See Grote, H. G. Pt. ii. c. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Nature and Convention, Correctness and Chance, Reason and Usage, Art and Experience, Likeness and Anomaly, Analogy and Custom, Hellenism and Dialect.

<sup>3</sup> Though it is a matter of less moment, yet in order that, as physicians when they administer wormwood "prius oras pocula circum Contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore," so we also may

by every honest recreation ease and gladden the toils of recruits in the classical camp, I have plucked a few of the flowers of humour which grow upon the Hill Difficulty. If we sometimes catch even Dan Homer napping, we do not love him the less, but take heart of grace to call him "good Homer;" so too if we find puerile conceits in the etymologies propounded by the greatest of the ancients, we shall not scorn them, but learn the lesson of caution ourselves. To begin with a jest (the merrier be-



who would examine the links of this great *catena* may safely be left to the guidance of two of the most patient of German students, Lersch and Gräfenhan, whose works, though that of the former is mentioned with due honour by M. Bunsen, seem as yet to have escaped the research of most English compilers of elementary grammars, notwithstanding that both contain very much that is to their purpose. For they force the student to think for himself, instead of submitting, in avowed or, what is worse, unconscious idolatry, to that outery by which the Spirit of the Age proscribes all cultivation of the God-given faculty of speech, beyond what its short-sighted cunning can see to be needful for commercial purposes. It is the glory of Cambridge that, though she has needed the ungentle voice of Sir William Hamilton to open her eyes to the true value of her higher degrees, she has not yielded to this Lynch law; but has so far revered the memory of Ascham and Cheke, of Gataker and Milton, of Pearson, Bentley, Porson, Dobree, as to make Grammar, the cornerstone of the noble pile of the Trivium and Quadrivium, a cornerstone of her modern teaching. And if, owing mainly to low notions of a scholar's duties, and the consequent

cause meant in sober earnest) which tickled the fancy of honest Gellius (*hoc visum est lepidum et festivum*. x. 4) and of Muretus (V. L. xiii. 1). Nigidius, a contemporary of Varro, in support of the doctrine of analogy (i. e. the doctrine that names correspond to things, in such sort that, hearing the sound of the word, you know the nature of the thing) cited the words *Ego, nos, mihi, Tu, tibi, vos*: the three former being pronounced with compressed lips and indrawn breath, denoting, it seems, the person of the speaker; the three latter, being sounded with protruded lips and breath exhaled, denote a *Non-Ego*. Chrysippus (apud Galen. De plac. Plat. et Hipp. ii. 2) in like manner argued that the *Ego*, τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, resided in the heart, because the chin falls when the first syllable of *ego* is uttered. Varro thinks that he can claim Ennius as an authority for the derivation; "audio abaveo, quod auribus avemus discere sem-

per." L. L. vi. § 83. We have all been amused by the proverbial example of the etymological principle *κατ' ἀντίφρασιν* (*contraria significatio*), "lucus a non lucendo." (Lersch, iii. 132. Aug. Quæst. in Judic. 21): "bellum, hoc est, minime bellum," "Parcæ, quod minime parcant," are equally edifying; and Ælius Stilo's "militia quasi mollitia κατ' ἀντίφρασιν" seems more fitted for a comic Latin grammar than for the grave Digest (xxi. 1. 1). Caius Granius should have been a monk for his cold-blooded derivation of cœlibes from cœlites, "quod onere gravissimo vacent." Quintil. i. 6, § 41. But Tryphon is perhaps boldest of all in his stout determination to bend facts to hypothesis. He derives φιλητής from ὑφιλετής by aphæresis of E and T and by changing E into H. What can be plainer? A thief produces loss; let his appellation lose letters. So λιμός is formed κατ' ἐνδειαν from λείπω. (Etymol. Magn. s. vv.).

accumulation of many incongruous functions in the person of one teacher, grammar is with us regarded almost entirely for its practical applications; there are not wanting signs that a more scientific study of grammar as such, in short that comparative philology, will soon raise up its head among us. This province also I must leave to an abler hand, who will, no doubt, prove the dignity of his calling and allure some young Hercules to make a noble choice, by representing the labours and sacrifices which that calling, like every true and honest calling, demands. For myself I must be content with a narrower, humbler office. On one branch of grammar alone, and one single slight shoot of that branch, do I venture to try the reader's patience. If what I say suggests to any student an aspiration after earnest work, a determination that, *pro parte virili*, so far as one man can turn the scale, in industry at least English scholarship shall not kick the beam when weighed against German, the result will be due not to me but to those of whom I speak. For charity begins at home; when we see the patient, enduring, energy with which our academic forefathers toiled, bating no jot of heart or hope, for the improvement of their inheritance, something like a blush of generous shame will steal over our faces as we reflect on our self-complacent enjoyment of other men's labours, and neglect of those handier and better-tempered tools which might enable us to reclaim so much that is now a rude and howling wilderness. Metaphor apart, I have learnt in my examination of our Latin-English dictionaries, so heartily to respect the authors, that (though it is rank heresy to say so) I seem to feel that the fond and free-spoken sympathy which bursts forth in tributes of Hebrew and Greek, Latin and even English, verse did not veil any selfish scheming; that it partook more of the nature of friendly approbation than of noisy, self-conceited puffing; and that to a quiet working man it must have been a more powerful incentive, and a richer reward, than the accordant applause of all our anonymous irresponsible critics, or even than the oracular *placet* of an infallible "taster," say rather the ominous crowing of a poor unsteady weathercock.

I propose then in this and two following articles (without pretending to give a complete historical survey of Latin lexicography, which would far exceed my limits, and would require

more comprehensive knowledge than I possess to do it justice), I. briefly to describe a few of the great lexicons which have been my teachers for years, and which must be the basis of all future erections: II. to trace, more fully, the series of English works, which once trained our English youth in sound Latin, and may yet train them and their modern teachers in racy, homespun, mother-English; here my aim will be rather to satisfy a historical and human, than the purely critical, interest; for indeed I well know how superficial my own acquaintance with many of these books is; and mainly desire to entice some young student to the republication of their prefaces, with illustrative notes, biographical, bibliographical and critical; than which perhaps no more seasonable aid<sup>1</sup> could be offered to the scholar, who dares not abuse the past until he knows at the very least something definite about it: III. to examine more at length some portions of Dr Smith's Lexicon, to which a writer in the Quarterly, if I may judge from a hasty glance at the article, seems to have done a great, we may hope an unintentional, injustice by comparing it with Mr Riddle's work; it is no compliment to a new champion entering the lists to set up a man of straw against him: IV. to lay down the rules which a lexicographer must observe, to point out gaps and errors in our existing lexicons, and to prove by examples that it is in the power of every student to supply some gaps and correct some errors; and if he knows it to be in his power, he cannot deny that it is his duty: he dares not be so ungrateful to Him "who has made him to differ" in intellectual appliances from those of his brethren who earn their own daily bread, and supply him with his, by the sweat of their brow, or from those head-workers of old time, in whose footsteps he professes to tread; he cannot be so disloyal to his Country, his University, his School, his Home.

§ 1. Calepinus, Stephanus, Faber, Forcellini, Scheller.

ONE of the most agreeable, and one of the most frequent, duties of the student who refuses to repeat scandal at second-hand,

<sup>1</sup> Unless it were, (what would be a worthy work for the press of either University, and—if that is a consideration—one which would pay, as well perhaps as Dindorf's crude compilations or certain school-books which we

have seen issue from the Pitt Press) a carefully edited series of the old treatises on education (Ascham, Brinsley &c.), together with the prefaces and other extracts from elementary grammars &c.



is the rescuing the fair name of some worthy, whom the blind guides of the literary public have thought fit to proscribe. Such a reward may perhaps await him who shall compare the *Lexicon* of Calepinus with its predecessors, and the author's Preface<sup>1</sup> with his censors' verdict. That the book is not a mere compilation from Perottus is evident to the most cursory observer<sup>2</sup>. Again, if the critics are correct, brother Ambrose has told a deliberate lie, which one can scarce believe; for the plagiarist generally employs rather the *suppressio veri* to cloke his villany. Let the reader judge. Falsely or truly the author tells the Senate and People of Bergamo that for many years he had extracted from authors, both catholic and profane, interpretations of words rather for his own use than for publication; preferring the learning of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, to the cavils of Valla. He professes to excel all former writers in copiousness, in exactness of citation, in the explanation of prepositions; but is notwithstanding conscious of innumerable defects. With a true foreboding (will any dare to add, and with matchless effrontery?) he exclaims: 'Scio namque futuros esse, qui labori nostro detrahant.'

The labours of Calepinus will still probably be useful to the student of patristic and scholastic Latin; certain it is, that the explanations in several languages, which were added in later editions, must have taught our fathers something of comparative philology; for indeed there are few subjects bearing upon ancient learning, that did not engage the attention of European scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Robert Stephens on undertaking his *Lexicon* proposed merely to edit Calepinus, but gradually in three editions (1531, &c.) embodied the results of his own and his friends' reading of the chief classics, not neglecting fragments, glossaries, and inscriptions. The London reprint<sup>3</sup>, in four fine folios, is very con-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. 1502, a scarce book, in the Cambridge Library; the preface is reprinted by Du Cange, § 52. Adverse (and sometimes interested) judgements are collected in the preface to the London Stephanus.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. the words *branchiæ*, *colossus*, *Deus*.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1735. Cf. Nichols's *Liter.*

*Anecd.* ii. 65 seq., v. 176 seq. Among the editors were Bishop Law and John Taylor. See the "Grub-street Journal's" critique on their proposals in Bowyer's *Misc. Tracts*, p. 86 seq. The edition of Birrius also (Basil. 1740 seq.) has valuable additions, but I cannot speak of it from personal knowledge.

venient for reference and for annotation, each quotation occupying a separate line. Gesner's, which is dedicated to George II. the founder of "the U-niversity of Göttingen," by rejection of encyclopædic (*real*) articles and of barbarisms, by many insertions, and particularly by interpretations of vexed passages, did very much towards simplifying and enlarging the science: indeed for fulness, neat arrangement, and exactness without pedantic minuteness of explanation, it has strong claims to be regarded as the best that has appeared; and *therefore*, in this age of compilations, it may be had for a mere trifle. One can hardly help sighing when one looks back upon times in which men were content to devote their whole energies to their calling; in which every artisan strove to become an artist, every printer and bookseller a scholar and designer; when two printers, father and son, laid the foundations of the two lexicons which are, to our shame be it said, not yet superseded as guides to the thorough student of Greek and Latin.

Faber's lexicon<sup>1</sup>, which twice enjoyed the editorial care of the indefatigable Gesner, is now chiefly valuable for its citations from patristic and other later writers, and references to critical dissertations. Its German interpretation secured for it a popularity in the land of its birth which it retained until displaced by Scheller.

The great treasury, which with those who do not care to read more than two or three lines of a titlepage bears the name of Facciolati, preserves in truth the fruits of the Herculean labours of his pupil Forcellini<sup>2</sup>, who himself with touching modesty tells the simple tale of his life-long devotion "to the clerks desirous of acquiring the Latin usage in the Seminary of Padua." "James Facciolati," so he addresses his young

<sup>1</sup> First ed. 1571. 8vo. Best ed. by Leichius. Francof. 1749. fol. I fully concur in the commendation bestowed upon this work and upon Hofmann's *Lexicon Universale* by the reviewer of Dr Smith's *Classical Dictionaries* (Quart. Rev. vol. 95, p. 98.)

<sup>2</sup> As a trait highly characteristic both of the man and of the scholar, I may be allowed to repeat an anecdote which I lately heard from an earwitness. Mr George Kennedy, whose sudden

death was felt as a domestic calamity by many beyond the circle of his family, had made the discovery, which most of us make sooner or later, that "Facciolati" was as great a misnomer as America. His sense of truth and justice was aroused; he complained to his friends of the wrong; and at last, resolved that one man at least should so far be clear from guilt, he sent his copy to the binder to be made an honest book of.

comrades, "my master, a name illustrious in the commonwealth of letters, while presiding over your studies in this Seminary, and by earnest thought and work striving to promote their success, among other useful undertakings took in hand a Greek and Latin lexicon, and laid his plans for the correction and enlargement of both. For the Greek, employing my energies in some measure, but much more those of men recommended by far higher learning, he so increased and improved it, that you who are occupied in the study of that language need no words of mine to set forth its merits. As for the Latin, because it seemed to need more care, he entrusted me with the sole charge of restoring it, not as supposing my intellect equal to the task (for he knew, what I cannot but feel, how feeble it indeed is) but because, seeing my strong and healthy frame, he conceived that I could endure even the longest labour. Thus by my hand, acting under his guidance and authority, the almost interminable work has at last, after nearly forty<sup>1</sup> years' progress, been brought to a close." The heroic spirit of self-sacrifice which breathes in these words carried Forcellini through his task with unabated zeal, though not without interruptions occasioned by his duties as confessor to the clergy and other offices. To the harvest stored up in former lexicons and indexes, he added his own gleanings from authors less thoroughly ransacked, from inscriptions and from coins, paying special attention to orthography, and adding a Greek and an Italian counterpart for each Latin word, together with the more obvious etymologies. In the interpretation he sought first to give the original *proper* meanings, and afterwards the secondary; not neglecting the detailed explanation of particular passages. In this department however it may be doubted whether he has rivalled Gesner. In his copious citations he had in view partly cautious critics who cannot have too much evidence, partly the necessities of young writers, to whom his work might serve as a substitute for Doletus, Nizolius, &c. *Verbum sapienti*. Perhaps one cause of the decay of classical composition among us may be the thoughtlessness with which learners, and even teachers, content themselves with abridgements giving unsupported opinions about words, while they neglect the sources in which most of the

<sup>1</sup> Phœbus utrumque polum decies quater axe revisit,  
Hoc nostra immensum dum manus urget opus.



needful data for drawing free and well-grounded conclusions are recorded at length. Against this fatal error Dr Smith, I am happy to see, enters his protest, warning the reader that his book is not a substitute for a Thesaurus. Assuredly Forcellini also, if he could return like Admetus from the grave, would more than ever have cause to ejaculate: "Utinam vero faxit Deus, ut, si in hac re (*i. e.* in copiousness) peccavi, nihil aliud præterea mihi objicere possint docti homines: unum hoc libenter agnovero, si in aliis longe gravioribus mihi parsum iri confidam." Far more important than the number of examples is the fidelity of citation, and here Forcellini leaves nothing to be desired; which is the more noticeable, as none of his followers or compilers, except Scheller, has even attempted to observe his golden rule. *He omitted every passage, however pat to his purpose, which he had not seen with his own eyes in its context.* With regard to the order of the examples under each rubric, he gave the post of dignity to the golden age, then to the silver and so on. Having thus rendered account of a noble and true work in noble and true words (for I have but condensed his own sentence upon himself) he winds up with a spirit-stirring appeal to those who hoped to occupy in their time the post which he had so well maintained in the fight against ignorance. "To this one end I have devoted pains, strength, time; a young man when I set hands to the task, I have grown old, as you see, in its course. Whether or no I have but compiled from others, a comparison of others will prove to you. Faint not, then, studious clerks; love that Roman eloquence, which will one day stand you in good stead as you minister to Holy Church; and besides the incessant care, by which your masters anxiously seek to further your studies, accept this aid at my hands also." Well may Furnaletto congratulate the Seminary of Padua and the Italian nation, amongst whom and for whom was conceived and matured "illud tam laboriosum, tam difficile, tam utile opus, cujus laudem neque injuria temporum, neque invidorum obtrectatio unquam imminuet:" nor will we, who have taken Forcellini as our guide through the goodly land in which he went so long a pilgrimage, mock the jealous pride with which his countryman tells of his triumphant march through Germany, Holland, and England; "the Transalpines, with all their zeal for Roman literature, finding nowhere a better model and groundwork."

The chief defects in Forcellini are the awkward arrangement of the quotations, the want of skilful unfolding of the secondary from the primary (*seminal*) signification, and the comparative neglect of later authors; even Tacitus' diction, for example, is by no means exhausted. On the other hand in the completeness of its vocabulary, in its indication of the forms of words actually in use, in the critical employment of inscriptions to determine orthography, and in a sober caution, it had no rival when it appeared. Forcellini's first edition was published at Padua in 1771, in four folio volumes. The second printed at the same place in the same form, in 1805, is inferior in execution, and has few additions<sup>1</sup>. Furnaletto added an Appendix (Padua, 1816. fol.) a third edition (*ibid.* 1823—1831 fol.) and a second Appendix (*ibid.* 1841. 4to. with many additional words from scholiasts, grammarians, and other late writers, especially from Mai's publications). Furnaletto was no unworthy representative of that Italian school of philology, which we are apt to lose sight of altogether, as we turn for light and warmth to the noonday sun of German scholarship. Whatever "a private man, destitute of aid or resources from without" could accomplish towards amassing and fusing into shape the new materials which delvers in the mine of Truth are daily bringing to light, that he must be allowed to have done. Some "nuggets" he picked up on the surface in Plautus, Terence, Cicero and Varro; in regard to later writers, while adding much, he declared his belief that some 10,000 new words are still lurking in writers of the first eight centuries A.D., the period embraced in Forcellini's catalogue of authors. He had also the courage, like Erasmus, to assert the citizenship of many terms not found in "Ciceronian" or "classical" Latin; justly remarking that not a few words may have belonged to the best period of the language, which yet may not survive in the comparatively scanty wrecks that have come down the Stream of Time<sup>2</sup>. To Italians indeed later words were often of greater interest, as roots of the modern language.

<sup>1</sup> Otto.

<sup>2</sup> Those Pharisees of literature who fear to spoil their style by reading Seneca or Tacitus may be reassured by the doubt, whether they have indeed any style to spoil; for surely no one

can know the characteristic difference of Ciceronian Latin who does not know the generic properties of Latin; and this knowledge can only be acquired by a more catholic student.

In the revision of references, indication of the forms in use, distinction of barbarous and authentic words, and insertion of prosodical notes, Furnaletto claims, I believe with justice, to have fulfilled the duty of a conscientious editor.

A class of words, yielding to none in their importance to the comparative philologist, Forcellini had admitted or excluded with something of caprice, I mean significant proper names; these Furnaletto restored; it is to be regretted that Dr Smith has discarded them altogether.

Among the scholars who helped to renew this monument of Italian industry we meet the names of the enthusiastic and generous Borghesi, and of Labus, a convert won by him to numismatic science.

The London edition, undertaken for Priestley by Mr Bailey the editor of *Hermesianax*, is too well known to demand more than a passing tribute to its accuracy and elegance. The Appendix, besides reprints, comprises an original *Auctarium* by Mr Bailey, valuable for its citations from such neglected sources as the old version of *Irenæus*. This Appendix and Furnaletto's supplements are incorporated, at least partially, in the Schneeberg edition (1829—1835). In this last, (as in Freund's compilation) the first three letters were carefully revised and enlarged; but the death of Voigtländer, the chief editor, and *rationes bibliopolicæ* interfered with the due prosecution of the work, which became at last, if we except a few references to grammars, to critical observations, and to indexes, little more than a reprint, incomplete even as such, for the Italian synonyms are expunged, without any equivalent<sup>1</sup>.

Scheller's *Lexicon* (5 vols. 8vo. Leipzig. 1804, 1805, 3rd ed.), has so long been pointed at with the finger of scorn, that I rejoice to have an opportunity of bearing testimony in his behalf. It is said that he borrows from Forcellini without mentioning his name<sup>2</sup>, that if he studies a more scientific arrangement, if he displays considerable reading, and if he has not neglected new discoveries

<sup>1</sup> What is here said may be confirmed by the verdict of Otto; and of Klotz in *Jahn's Jahrb.* (1832). v. 326 seq. Eckstein refers to Bonnell's articles in the *Jahrb. für wissenschaftliche Kritik*. 1829. Nos. 96—99.

<sup>2</sup> "*Lexicon Æg. Forc. adhibuit quidem in suos usus, quanquam nuspiam laudatum, verum non ita, quin multa omiserit ex eo utiliter repetenda.*" —Censor Germanus ap. Furnal.



in criticism, his arrangement is still defective, his reading chiefly confined to Cæsar, Cicero, and other "classical" authors, and his criticism uncritical<sup>1</sup>. I reply that I have constantly for ten years or more consulted both Forcellini and Scheller; that whereas Freund and other compilers faithfully reproduce Forcellini's misprints, Scheller has always to the best of my recollection been found an independent witness: that instead of confining his attention to the golden age, he has done more than any other lexicographer for patristic latinity; that he at least attempts to arrange the significations in a natural order (*genetically*); that I fully believe his assertion, that he often spent six or eight hours upon thus disposing the citations under a single word, to have been made in perfect good faith; that his frequent "perhaps," which savoured of affectation or of ignorance to the taste of dogmatic pedants<sup>2</sup>, was but the cautious "not proven" of an impartial judge. But the reader will, I hope, not content himself with my bare protest against the popular neglect of Scheller; his own simple prefaces will plead his cause more effectually than any advocate. As however Mr Riddle in his reprint (a convenient book for the annotator), has rejected these vindications, probably few readers will regard an extract or two as superfluous. Having at first designed merely to search the authors of the golden age, Scheller afterwards extended his plan, on the ground that many later writers, Seneca for example, though abused by such as had never read them, were yet in themselves fully as pleasant and instructive as more fashionable classics. These grumblers, he says again, are like the man who could never bring himself to fancy oysters. Such a weakling exclaims: "What is the use of oysters? One cannot (he means, *I cannot*) eat oysters." Why,

<sup>1</sup> Otto, p. 996.

<sup>2</sup> The impatience which drove a famous professor to ridicule poor Scheller's modest ἐπέχω, is so rife amongst us, that I must crave the reader's indulgent attention for a sentence from Ehrenfeuchter's *Erinnerung an Friedrich Lücke* (Stud. u. Krit. 1855. p. 734): "So waren für Lücke Gelehrsamkeit und Kritik die Mittel, die von jener Wahrhaftigkeit gefordert wurden, um der Wahrheit selbst und ihrer Erkenntniss zu dienen. Daher sein Suchen und

Forschen, sein Zurückhalten vor festem Abschluss, sein oft ausgesprochenes Votum auf ein *non liquet*, dessen Aeußerung in einer Zeit, die immer mehr den Schein fertiger Resultate liebt, einem festeren Muth erfordert als man meint." Throughout this paper, as also in Redepenning's notice of Gieseler, we see how practical zeal may consist with stern reticence on disputed points; nay, how both may spring from the same root, a deep veneration for the sacred majesty of Truth.

(asks our author with due tenderness for the rights of the individual palate)—why may not one man relish Seneca, Quintilian, Pliny, Martial, leaving others to their favourite Cicero? If Seneca and Quintilian had been more read, many books would have remained unwritten, which teach nothing but what they taught better long ago. Men complain of their bad Latin; can they have read them? It is true they use some words which Cicero seems not to have known; but what of that? On what principle can one author be so exclusively honoured, that no word, which is not issued from his mint, shall pass current? Did he make all the words he used? Were they not Latin till he sanctioned them<sup>1</sup>? Again, while noticing Ruhnken's attack upon his citations from Sidonius, Ammianus, &c., he remarks: One would think Herr Ruhnken valued a lexicon simply and solely as a help to composition. But why may not a man write Ciceronian Latin and yet read Sidonius and the rest? We must needs study them for historical purposes; and if so, can we dispense with a knowledge of the separate words? This reasoning is so just and so applicable to our times, (indeed the growing importance of comparative philology makes it more than ever necessary to search every obscurest nook and cranny for new materials), that I cannot but hope that it may have some effect; that some of our students will shake off the degrading yoke of fashion, and look with their own eyes into Velleius, Seneca, the elder and younger Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Ammianus; nay, that they will now and then spend a leisure hour with Gellius or Macrobius; that they will train themselves to know the *Corpus Poetarum* "tanquam ungues digitosque suos." For surely many a writer whom we pass by with a withering sneer, has claims upon us both as scholars and as men: if we did not possess Ausonius, what would we not give for so vivid a picture of the life of a rhetorician and a courtier—*ex rhetore consulis*—moving amid the empty state of an outworn civilisation, and reflecting his age while he foreshadows impending changes both in his thoughts and in their outward clothing, in his strange Canusine dialect and his stranger false quantities, vanities which, mad as they may seem, yet have something of method in them too? But to

<sup>1</sup> Compare Robertson's idolatry of Johnson. His narrow bigotry will account for his intolerable prosing, and justify Charles Lamb's dislike of books "which every gentleman must have."

return to Scheller. Besides the intrinsic merits of the writers subsequent to the Augustan age, he sees in them the necessary interpreters of that age. Many an allusion in Cicero is cleared up by Pliny; many a word tropically used by an author of high caste is properly used for the first time by a pariah; many a frivolous emendation might have been spared, had all critics the breadth and depth of learning which gave Gronovius such a power of divination.

Of more general interest still is the genial frankness with which Scheller admits us into his workshop, tacitly inviting our human sympathies to feel for difficulties, which none, he tells us, can fully appreciate, who have not themselves essayed a like enterprise with a like stubborn resolve to take nothing on trust. As an honest man he must go to the bottom of things; as a citizen of the republic of letters he must not exceed the limits of "four or five alphabets, *damit es der arme Leser auch kaufen könnte*;" once and again his desire for completeness almost outweighed the claims of poor scholars; a vision of a lexicon fuller even than Gesner's rose before him and beckoned him onward; but once and again the silent moans of poor innocents condemned to the treacherous conduct of "their Kirsche, Weber, Dänzler, Neubauer, Weismann, and other trivial dictionaries" lured his soaring ambition from the clouds to mother earth. Sadly and with something of a martyr's resignation he commenced the work of curtailment. The severest pang of all to his tortured conscience was the necessity of leaving many passages with a mere name, Cic. Liv. Cæs.<sup>1</sup> "Will every one take it on my word that the passage is to be found in those authors? May I not be mistaken? It is but too possible! Is the reading certain? If the reader had book and chapter given him he might turn to the passage himself. These thoughts disturbed me mightily; but I could do no other; brevity was my law." Again he lamented the frequent impossibility of saying: *The word means this, it does not mean that*. Like Socrates he discovered that the heat with which expositors maintain an interpretation, scoffing often at those whom it has escaped, is no

<sup>1</sup> This defect was supplied in the latter part of the first edition. In the third edition, besides removing, he believed, every error of press or pen which

had crept into the second, he amended the references to Varro, Seneca, &c. by the latest critical texts.



proof of their knowledge. "*Mancher weis nicht, dass er etwas nicht weis.* Some plume themselves on guessing the general sense of a passage, in spite of their ignorance of the single words. Then they call out: *This is not Latin; this is archaic*; or snatch up some other term of abuse, such as comes first to hand. This persecuting spirit is most rife in the devotees who fall prostrate before a single shrine, Cicero's for example. If Cicero had been an Atlas, upholding the whole universe of Latinity, well and good; but Cicero after all was but one man. He cannot have known all 'Latin'; even if he did, he must have wanted opportunity to employ all that he knew<sup>1</sup>."

But enough has I hope been said to shew that Scheller is not so pitiful a plagiarist as some have called him. The reader who will be at the pains to turn over the three prefaces will not only meet with many valuable rules for the construction of dictionaries, but will ever and anon be rewarded by touches of caustic observation set off by a homely freshness of illustration which is but too rare in the great Fatherland. Thus at one time he asserts the scholar's right of judgement against the dogmatism of scholiasts or more modern despots; at another he wonders whether the ancients would know themselves if "corrected" texts of their works were set before them: or lays down the qualities required in lexicographers, who certainly have no sinecure office, if they are to exhibit them according to Scheller's ideal. Of his own work he speaks in terms which bring the question of his originality to a simple issue: either he is guilty of a barefaced lie about a matter which he must have known, or his anonymous critic and those who have repeated his accusation have too hastily presumed in Scheller their own low conventional standard of literary morality. Perhaps the critics might learn reason as well as faith from a simple reader who should think that Scheller confessed no obligations to Forcellini merely because he felt none; for everything goes to prove that he did not know the book. Be this as it may, he tells us that he had for many years made collections, that he read over again the chief authors before his final revision, and verified anew nearly every citation before he went to press. If he had thus in some points surpassed his predecessors, he claimed no thanks; for he was in duty bound to do his utmost. Doubts and objections he

<sup>1</sup> A summary, rather than a translation, of two or three passages.

would welcome; still more so, if supported by sufficient grounds; for with doubts and objections each man could furnish himself; grounds alone are the seal of truth and probability.

No wonder that his spirit was vexed when he found that some factious partisans, notwithstanding the cordial approbation with which he was rewarded by true judges, found a pleasure in grumbling. No wonder that he seized the opportunity of retorting upon his masked assailants. "I regard it as harsh, unfair, despotic and dictatorial for a scholar to attach an unusual signification to a word, unless he cite passages which bear him out. I am very loath to trust any body's *ipse dixit*, unsupported by evidence; and as many others probably are of the same mind, we may imagine how unprofitable are the fashionable critiques which appear without proof, and anonymously, in which therefore we know neither the age nor the attainments of the self-appointed judge." Again: "Corrections from scholars I shall thankfully receive; *doch versteht es sich, durch Gründe unterstützt*. For blame and reproof upon insufficient grounds are a sort of brawling, scolding, wilfulness, despotism, &c.; in unsupported blame and reproof I should not allow a master to indulge with his pupils, much less a scholar with other scholars. Many a scholar writes something after meditating upon it twenty times, after collecting and weighing carefully the pros and cons: then comes another scholar, runs over what he has said with a cursory glance, and tosses it away with two words; *Mere moonshine! False, incorrect, &c.* Can anything be more uncharitable, vain, capricious? When such a thoughtless censure, such a dictatorial award, is confided to a good friend in private, *so mag es gehen*, no great harm is done. But when it is printed, and falls into many thousand hands, and is read by many thousands, who perhaps never see or read the proscribed work, then is the writer, and Truth with him, if he have written the truth, insulted and wronged. In matters of learning a censor, who would force upon us his bare unproved censure as unquestionable truth, must believe himself to be infallible or inspired by a higher Power; in either case he is a fanatic or a kind of pope. And such an apparition one is startled to meet within the horizon of learning in our days, when folks shrink back in such alarm from fanaticism and from the pope, nay even from his very shadow. Evidence and counter-evidence, these are the scholar's

weapons: *Argumenta damus*, we should say, *petimusque vicissim*."

In these days of cold suspicion and disunion it is not a little cheering to watch the freespoken manliness with which Scheller, sinking all self-conscious timidity in the presence of his great work and of those for whom it was undertaken, speaks at once to the reader's heart, while he tries to account for the inequalities which disfigure the book. "A traveller marches more briskly at the outset; his steps trail heavily as he nears his destination. Besides within two years I have experienced two painful bereavements; I have lost a grown son, a youth full of promise, and a married daughter; children that were the joy of my eyes, who I had hoped should be the support of my old age. That the grief and dejection which has never since left me, and from which I shall perhaps never be entirely free, has sometimes been an obstacle to the progress of my labours, I will not deny. For the concentrated attention, which such a work demands, one requires a free, innocent, cheerful temper. Had these calamities overtaken me before I set hands to this second edition, it would most likely never have appeared." What a noble self-oblivion too appears in the only allusion which he makes to his narrow circumstances<sup>1</sup>. "Probably I might have spoken often with more certainty and precision, if I had enjoyed the opportunity of employing constantly the works of famous men; an advantage afforded by Leipzig, Berlin, Göttingen, &c., where valuable and select libraries, public and private, give access to all books; while I, here where I live, if I would consult a book, must for the most part be content with my own."

There is something of a dignified simplicity in the final farewell in which the veteran of nearly seventy winters<sup>2</sup> takes leave of his work and of the commonwealth of letters: I know not where to look for a nobler colophon to this rambling essay. "Lastly, as at my age I can scarcely hope again to revise this book, I will here bid adieu to its friends, and pray that the care of a new edition may fall into worthy hands. It is indeed to be hoped that my successor may be far abler and more learned than

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ruhnken. "Schellerum excusatum habet fortunæ locique conditio. Is enim dignus, si quis alius, cujus eruditio majore theatro spectare-

tur, litteras tenui mercede docet in urbe [Brieg] Marti quam Musis aptiore."

<sup>2</sup> Scheller was born March 22, 1735, and died July 5, 1803.



I; only I desire that he may not be ashamed of the necessary caution and of an honourable fearfulness, which does not assert every thing with mathematical assurance, but often allows room to doubt. Else he may after a time be compelled with shame to retract much that he has boldly laid down as indisputable. Should I however, contrary to all likelihood, have the happiness once more to give my book to the world, it may be hoped that it will not appear without the needful corrections, and indeed additions too, though these must of course be fewer and of less importance, than those which I have now made. *Brieg, in Monat März, 1803.*" The end to which the brave old scholar looked forward with such a stedfast hope was not long delayed. Within four months he rested from his labours.

J. E. B. MAYOR.

### III.

#### *On the Borders of the Inheritance of the Tribe of Naphtali; and on the Site of the Cities denounced by Our Saviour in the Gospels.*

A LARGE amount of successful research has within the last twenty years been expended upon the elucidation of the antient geography of the Holy Land. The greater number of the localities in the central and southern portions of that country may now be regarded as definitely ascertained: the geography of the more northerly districts, and especially of the inheritance of the tribe of Naphtali, is still enveloped in considerable obscurity. The regions of the north have not perhaps been less thoroughly explored by modern travellers than those of the south; but comparatively few of the cities mentioned as formerly existing in those parts have as yet been satisfactorily identified. The biblical names of those cities have either not survived, or have in the course of ages undergone greater corruption. The Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome is for this portion of the country of but little service; those fathers having for the most part simply catalogued the names of the Naphtalite cities, without being able to afford

any clue as to where they were to be sought. It is possible that the antient names of many of the cities had in their time not entirely perished, but had, in the harsh Galilean dialect of the Aramaic language which had overspread these parts before our Saviour's days, been so much corrupted that they could with difficulty be recognized.

It is clear from the description given of the Naphtalite inheritance in the Book of Joshua, that it was contiguous on the west to the inheritance of Asher, and on the south to that of Zebulun. In most modern maps it has been represented as bounded on the east by the upper part of the river Jordan; but, as I hope to shew, without sufficient reason.

The account of the borders of the tribe, as it stands in our English translation of the Bible, is as follows: "And their coast was from Heleph, from Allon to Zaanannim, and Adami, Nekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakum; and the outgoings thereof were at Jordan. And *then* the coast turneth westward to Aznoth-tabor, and goeth out from thence to Hukkok, and reacheth to Zebulun on the south side, and reacheth to Asher on the west side, and to Judah upon Jordan toward the sunrising." (Josh. xix. 33, 34.) But it may be more correctly rendered thus: "And their coast was from Heleph, from the oak of Zaanannim, and Adami, &c." From Judges iv. 11, we learn that this oak (or as our Eng. Ver. incorrectly renders it, *plain*) of Zaanannim was near Kedesh. The site of Kedesh is happily known. On the top of the hills to the west of the plain of the Waters of Merom (the modern lake el-Hûleh) there is a small plain or table-land about two or three miles in length from north to south, and rather more than a mile across from east to west; and in the centre of the western boundary of this table-land stands a village, rich in ruins of the Roman period, which still bears the name Kedes, and is universally acknowledged to be the representative of the antient Kedesh-Naphtali. The border of the tribe of Naphtali, which ran by the oak of Zaanannim near Kedesh, could only have been the western border; and if then we suppose Heleph to mark the north-western corner of the tribe, we shall have to seek for Adami, Nekeb, Jabneel, and Lakum farther to the south. The last-mentioned place might be possibly identified with Aljun, near Sefûrieh, the antient Diocæsarea; though this appears to lie somewhat too far

southward. Aznoth-tabor seems to have derived its name from Mount Tabor; and though it has not been identified in recent times, it is declared by Eusebius to have been situate in the district of Diocæsarea, in the plain. Lastly, it has been suggested that Hukkok may be the same with the modern Yâkûk, a village considerably to the north-east of Diocæsarea. On the whole, there seems to be good ground for assuming that the first of the two verses we have quoted describes the western, the second the southern border of the tribe of Naphtali. It is true that we do not thus explain what is meant by the outgoings of the coast being at Jordan, or by the coast turning westward; but these expressions admit of being interpreted in so many different ways, that it is far from safe to rest any argument upon them. And as to the Naphtalite coast reaching "to Judah upon Jordan toward the sunrising," the absence of any further mention of such a place as Judah in these parts seems to justify us in assuming some corruption of the Hebrew text.

The territories of the tribe of Naphtali being thus, as we have seen, bounded by those of Asher on the west and of Zebulun on the south, the question arises,—did they, or did they not extend beyond Jordan on the east? The following reasons exist for answering the question in the affirmative.

First, the assertion of Josephus, who in his paraphrase of the Biblical narrative in the *Antiquities* declares that the Naphtalites received the districts towards the east, as far as the city of Damascus. *Νεφθαλίται παρέλαβον τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένα μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως* (*Ant. v. 1*). Admitting that this cannot be received as literally true, and making all due allowance for Josephus' customary spirit of exaggeration, it yet seems impossible to suppose that the historian understood the Naphtalite inheritance not to extend eastward beyond the Jordan. It seems equally clear that in Josephus' view the portion of the land of Israel which lay nearest to the city of Damascus belonged to the Naphtalites; so that the territory of Manasseh could not have extended to the east of that of Naphtali, as is on modern maps usually represented.

Secondly, we may bring forward evidence to shew that some of the Naphtalite cities lay to the east of the Jordan. The cities of Naphtali are thus enumerated: "Ziddim, Zer, and Hammath, Rakkath, and Chinnereth, and Adamah, and Ramah, and Hazor,



and Kedesh, and Edrei, and En-hazor, and Iron, and Migdal-el, Horem, and Beth-anath, and Beth-shemesh; nineteen cities with their villages." (Josh. xix. 35—38.) Of these Kedesh is the modern Kedes, Iron is probably the modern Yârôn, and Ramah the modern er-Rameh, all lying to the west of the Jordan: of the rest we will speak in order, taking those first which can be identified with the greatest degree of certainty.

*Hazor.* This city is remarkable as having been the capital of the Canaanitish king Jabin, who with his confederate kings was defeated by Joshua at the Waters of Merom; and also subsequently of the Jabin who oppressed the Israelites in the days of the Judges, and whose forces, under his general Sisera, were defeated by Deborah and Barak at the river Kishon. About two miles to the east of Banias (the antient Cæsarea Philippi) and a little to the due east of the castle of Banias (Kala'at Banias), there is an isolated hill, well adapted to have formed the site of an antient fortress. The summit is covered with large stones and fragments of rock. Of those which are visible, none appear to have been hewn, but yet indications may be found of some of them having been brought to a regular shape. Several of the large-surfaced flattish pieces of rock have been scooped out a few inches from the border, and their centres rendered perfectly level, so as to present the appearance of colossal trays; having probably served as wine-vats. Besides a well, and other remains, several lines of foundations of walls are to be traced, some more than six feet thick. The place still bears the name Hazûr; and has been justly identified with Hazor both by Ritter in his *Erdkunde*, and in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. Josephus says of Hazor, that it stands above the lake Semechonitis, or the Waters of Merom (*Ant.* v. 1). Hazûr fairly fulfils this condition. The site was first noticed in recent times by Burckhardt, who erroneously stated that it lay an hour's journey north of the fountain 'Ain Hazûr. Hence Ritter's surmise that Hazûr and 'Ain Hazûr might be the representatives respectively of the two Naphtalite cities Hazor and En-hazor. But in truth the fountain lies at the foot of the hill of Hazûr, not more than five minutes' distance from the summit; and could never have been the site of a distinct city.

*Migdal-el.* This has been identified by Robinson with the el-Mejdel in the centre of the western shore of the Lake of

Genfesaret. But there can be little doubt that the greater part if not the whole of that shore lay within the borders of the tribe of Zebulun. There is another el-Mejdel in the hills, a few miles to the north-east of Hazûr; which may with far greater probability be regarded as the representative of the Naphtalite city.

Before proceeding further I must ask leave to give some account of a district not generally known or explored, and which, so far as I am aware, has not yet been described by any traveller. Amid the hills to the north of Hazûr is a valley running for a considerable distance from north-east to south-west, and emerging into the plain of the Nahr Hasbeiya just to the north of Banias. This valley bears the name Wâdy el-'Asel; and is remarkable for the number of ruined villages which it contains, none of which will be found marked in any of the maps. On proceeding up the valley from Banias the traveller will first arrive in about three quarters of an hour at an uninhabited village es-Sireh on a hill to the right. Three quarters of an hour more will bring him to the ruins of Dara or Dara' (I am uncertain whether the last letter is ' or ξ) also on the right of the valley, and perched on the summit of a hill. Here may be seen several fragments of columns, one as much as six feet in diameter: the ruins are in general much mutilated, but there still remain some pilasters and bases in good preservation: there are also three large wells. At more than half an hour's journey from Dara', and more in the valley, though still on the south-eastern side of it, is 'Alûba, where are some small ruins of a Roman temple, but no traces of any modern village. On a hill further up the valley, and still on the same side, the traveller will arrive at Kefr Dawar, where are the ruins of a set of Roman temples, covering an enormous extent of ground; while across the valley from Kefr Dawar there are some ruins at Beit el-Barâk, and again at ten minutes' distance at Massisa, on a hill to the north-east of Beit el-Barâk. The effect of the temples of Beit el-Barâk, Kefr Dawar, and 'Alûba, when all beheld together from the hill of Massisa, must have once been very imposing<sup>1</sup>.

These places, although the ruins which distinguish them all belong to the Roman period, are perhaps not altogether devoid

<sup>1</sup> From Massisa, Beit el-Barâk bears war S. 30° E. From Dara', Kala'at S. 70° W; 'Alûba S. 40° W: Kefr Da- Banias bears S. 15° W.

of scriptural interest. Beit el-Barâk, the House of Barak, although it cannot be identified with any place mentioned in the Old Testament, seems to be in some way connected with the memory of the conqueror of Sisera. Dara', if such be the correct spelling, may be readily identified with the Naphtalite city Edrei; the principal letters in the two names being precisely the same. On the other hand the Naphtalite Zer may perhaps be represented by the deserted village es-Sireh.

Let us now proceed to some of the Naphtalite cities which probably stood on or near the shores of the Lake of Gennesaret.

The lake itself is called in the Old Testament the sea of Chinnereth (Num. xxxiv. 11); and this affords good ground for supposing that Chinnereth and Gennesaret are but two different forms of the same word. The town of Chinnereth will then stand in connexion with the land of Gennesaret of which we shall presently speak. It is the assumed identity of Chinnereth and Gennesaret which justifies us in conjecturing that the Hebrew sharp palatal (צ or even פ) may in other instances have passed into the flat *g* in Aramaic, and may therefore be represented by the modern Arabic *j*. Hence it is not impossible that traces of the name of the Naphtalite city Rakkath may be found in that of the modern village el-A'raj, standing a little to the east of the outflow of the Jordan into the lake. The Jewish doctors assert that Rakkath occupied the site of the later city Tiberias, while Jerome regards Tiberias as the representative of the antient Chinnereth. But the two theories contradict each other; and neither of them is supported by any degree of proof. On the contrary, Tiberias must, according to all appearance, have stood within the borders of the tribe of Zebulun. For the same reason we must object to the proposed identification of the Naphtalite Hammath with the present Hammâm or Baths of Tiberias, the Ammaus of Josephus; although, as the name Hammath signifies Baths, it is not unlikely that the city was situate somewhere on the shores of the lake.

Of the position of the rest of the Naphtalite cities mentioned in the Book of Joshua, we must admit our entire ignorance. In the Books of Kings we find the names of two more cities probably comprised within the borders of this tribe; Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah. These are believed to have lain to the north-east of Baniyas; the name of the latter being partially



preserved in that of the modern village Îbel or Âbil, and the name of the former in that of the plain Merj 'Ayûn. With these however we are now less concerned: our object was to shew that some of the Naphtalite cities lay to the east of the Jordan, and consequently that the Naphtalite territory was not bounded by that river, in which we hope we have not been entirely unsuccessful. The true eastern boundary of the territory was probably the well defined range of hills running southward from Mount Hermon in longitude *circa* 35° 50' (east from Greenwich). This renders it probable also that the lands on both sides of the northern part of the Jordan were included under the name of Galilee. The Hebrew term *galil*, of which Γαλιλαία is but a Greek version, denotes a border, and was thus applied to the borderlands of the Israelitish inheritance. There is no conceivable reason why it should have been originally restricted to the country west of the Jordan, to which it would be even less appropriate than to the part of the Naphtalite territory which lay to the east of that river; and that the latter country was included under the general term Galilee is indeed almost proved by the verse of Isaiah: "When at the first He lightly afflicted the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, and afterward did more grievously afflict her by the way of the sea, *beyond Jordan*, in Galilee of the nations" (Isaiah ix. 1). In the Roman times indeed, the term Galilee, as the name of a political division, was confined to the regions on the west of the river, those on the east forming part of the district of Gaulanitis. It is thus that St Luke too describes the country of the Gadarenes as being "over against Galilee," evidently using the latter name in its more limited sense (Luke viii. 26). Yet that in a wider signification Galilee still included both banks of the Jordan, is shewn by the fact that Judas the ringleader, a native of Gamala in Gaulanitis, was always known as Judas the Galilean<sup>1</sup>; and to assume that the limits of Galilee did not extend beyond that of the Galilean tetrarchy would be as unreasonable as to restrict the application of the name Asia within the bounds of the Roman proconsular province of that name, or to assert that all the Slavonians of modern times were natives of the single Austrian kingdom of Slavonia.

<sup>1</sup> See Jos. Ant. XVIII. 1. 1. and compare Ant. XVIII. 1. 6; XX. 5. 2. B. J. II. 8. 1; ib. 17. 8. Acts v. 37.

Before quitting the Old Testament notices of the Naphtalite territory, we may find place for a few words respecting Harosheth of the Gentiles, the city of Sisera. The different positions in which this city is marked in maps of the Holy Land are purely conjectural. Perhaps a clue to its true site may be furnished by the present name of the table-land in which Kedesh-Naphtali stands, Wâdy 'Arûs. I am not certain whether this name may not strictly apply to one of the outlets from the table-land in question into the plain of the Jordan, although it was given to me, when on the spot, as the name of the table-land itself. The similarity between the names 'Arûs and Harosheth is so great, as to afford strong ground for believing that the one is derived from the other. The principal letters in the two names, with the exception of the initials, entirely correspond; and even with regard to the initials, we have other examples of the conversion of the strong *h* into the letter 'Ain, which we have here represented by the apostrophe (')<sup>1</sup> It is true that there is an Arabic word '*arûs* signifying a bridegroom or bride; but this does not in the least militate against the supposition that the name Wâdy 'Arûs was derived from Harosheth; though it is possible that the change in the initial breathing was the result of the influence of the desire to give an Arabic interpretation to a name which had in reality descended from Hebrew times. But if the Harosheth stood in the Wâdy 'Arûs, in what precise direction from Kedesh must we seek for it? In the absence of any other indications, we naturally fix our eyes on Ablida, the only village besides Kedesh which the table-land contains. It stands in the north-western corner of the table-land, and about a mile north of Kedesh; and there are said to be ruins there. We must thus suppose that Sisera, escaping from the battle-field of Taanach, sixty or seventy miles distant, had nearly reached his own city of Harosheth when he found himself hotly pursued; and that he merely proposed to take a temporary refuge in the tent of Jael, which could not have been far from his own home, while his pursuers passed by. And with this view coincide the injunctions he gave to his hostess to keep watch at the door of the tent while he lay down to sleep.

In a passage of Isaiah, part of which has been already quoted,

<sup>1</sup> Thus the antient Beth-horon is p. 60); and Hazor of Judah is now now Beit 'Ur (Robinson, Bib. Res. II. 'Asûr (ibid. II. p. 79).

it was predicted that the land of Zebulun and the land of Naph-tali, which in the prophet's days were in a depressed condition, and overshadowed with darkness, should at some future period be gladdened by a glorious light; and the evangelist St Matthew himself reminds us how this prophecy was fulfilled when Jesus Christ came and fixed His abode in Capernaum. The determination of the exact position of the city of Capernaum, and of those of Chorazin and Bethsaida, in which so many of our Lord's miracles were wrought, and which He subsequently denounced for their unbelief, has naturally been a matter of interest to every student of sacred geography; and various and conflicting are the decisions, or rather the conjectures, at which they have arrived respecting them. Let us treat of them in order.

The site now generally pointed out as that of Capernaum is the place known as Tell Hûm, situate on the shore of the lake of Gennesaret, about two miles to the west or south-west of the mouth of the northern Jordan. The profuse classical remains which here attract the traveller's attention, leave no doubt that the ground must once have been occupied by a town of importance. In this indeed all agree; and although the identification of this place with Capernaum has been vehemently opposed by Robinson in his *Biblical Researches*, it has been since adopted and defended at great length by Ritter in his *Erdkunde*, and more briefly by Williams in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*: and indeed that the ruins of Tell Hûm are none other than those of the city "exalted unto heaven," seems capable of being established by fair and satisfactory evidence. Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* speak of Capernaum as a village still existing in their day: they even use it as a landmark by which to indicate the place of Chorazin. Another writer of the fourth century, Epiphanius, relates that the emperor Constantine granted permission to a certain Josephus to build a Christian church at Capernaum: the place having been previously inhabited only by Jews<sup>1</sup>. This shews that up to the fourth century Capernaum had not perished. The next notice we have of Capernaum is in the itinerary of the credulous Antoninus of Placentia, belonging, probably, to the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century: "*Deinde (scil. Tiberiade) venimus in civitatem Capharnaum in domum B. Petri, quæ est in Basilica.*" The narrative of this author, is,

<sup>1</sup> Epiphan. *Adv. Hæres.* i. pp. 128, 136.



even apart from its credulity, such an uncritical tissue of confusion, that it is rash to build much upon it; yet the mention of the basilica, which was probably that erected with Constantine's sanction, seems to identify the Capernaum of Antoninus with the Capernaum of the fourth century; and Ritter conjectures that the most remarkable of the ruined buildings at Tell Hâm may be the remnant of this very edifice. All these notices, it is true, merely shew that the name of Capernaum was still preserved, without specifying the exact locality of the town; but the description of the French bishop Arculf, A. D. *cir.* 700, applies so exactly and so exclusively to the ruins at Tell Hâm, that one can only wonder how Robinson should, with Arculf's language before him, have ventured for a moment to fix the site of Capernaum at Khân Minyeh, further south along the western shore of the lake. This pilgrim, who beheld Capernaum from one of the hills in the neighbourhood, says that it was unwall'd, that it was shut in on a narrow piece of ground between the mountain and the lake, that it extended in a long line from west to east along the shore, with the mountain on the north, and the water on the south<sup>1</sup>. All these particulars exactly accord with the position of Tell Hâm, where the remains still stretch for at least half a mile upon the shore; but they do not apply to Khân Minyeh. This latter is not confined between the hill and the lake, but stands at the extremity of a large plain: there are some ruins, but not those of a town stretching for any distance along the shore: the line of coast runs not from west to east, but from north to south, and although the hills rise immediately to the north of Khân Minyeh, the water laves the shore not on the southern but on the eastern side. If then the Capernaum of Arculf was the true Capernaum of the Gospels, the latter may be safely identified with Tell Hâm; and the notices of Eusebius and Jerome, of Epiphanius, and to a certain extent of the Placentine pilgrim, are principally useful as establishing the probability that the knowledge of the true position of Capernaum was preserved until Arculf's time.

There are two passages of Josephus which bear upon this subject. In his autobiography, he relates that, his wrist having

<sup>1</sup> Adamnanus de Locis Sanctis. "Quæ, ut Arculfus refert, qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum coartata

spatio per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plagâ, lacum vero ab australi habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur."

been accidentally dislocated through a fall of his horse in a skirmish with Agrippa's troops on the bank of the northern Jordan, he was conveyed to the neighbouring village of Kepharnome; and then, the next night, by the doctor's advice, to Tarichæa at the southern end of the lake<sup>1</sup>. Kepharnome, without doubt the same as Capernaum, was in all probability the nearest village to the scene of the skirmish; which could not have been the case if it stood further south than Tell Hâm, as then it would have been more distant than the town occupying that site. The other passage is one of greater difficulty. In the Jewish War, Josephus takes occasion to describe the land of Gennesaret, bordering on the lake of the same name, and stretching for a distance of thirty stadia along the lake, and twenty stadia inland. He represents it as a tract of the most exuberant and extraordinary fertility, producing fruits of every kind, and preserving them all the year round; and then adds: "Besides enjoying a delicious air, the place is watered (*διάρδεται*) by a most fertilizing fountain, called by the natives Kapharnaum; which some take for a gut of the Nile, because of its containing the *Coracinus* fish, which is found at Alexandria<sup>2</sup>." The name Kapharnaum or Capernaum, which is compounded of the word *kaphar* a village, must without doubt have originally belonged to a town, not to a fountain; and hence we are forced to conclude that the fountain of Kapharnaum was not far from the city of that name, and derived its name from it. The land of Gennesaret is usually identified with the fertile plain to the south of Khân Minyeh, in which there are two existing fountains: the one some distance inland, the other near to Khân Minyeh, and close upon the shore. Robinson identifies the latter with the fountain described by Josephus; and on this ground pleads for Khân Minyeh, as the site of the antient Capernaum. But it has been justly remarked that the plain cannot be said to be watered by a fountain which only gushes out from the rocks upon the shore, and pours its stream into the sea at a few rods' distance; and the sole argument for regarding Khân Minyeh as the site of Capernaum thus falls to the ground. In fact the land of Gennesaret may with equal or better reason be identified with the plain el-Batihah at the northern extremity of the lake, lying immediately on the east of the Jordan. The dimensions of the Batihah, no less than those of the Ghuweir on

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Vita, § 72.<sup>2</sup> Jos. B. J. III. 10. 8.

the western shore, satisfactorily correspond with those specified by Josephus; and Robinson unconsciously remarks that though the two plains strikingly resemble each other in form, climate, soil, and productions, yet the Batihah appears, if anything, to be the superior. Josephus does not state on which shore of the lake the land of Gennesaret lay. The Talmud makes mention of a place near Tiberias with gardens and resorts, probably referring to the Ghuweir; but it does not designate this as Gennesaret. We shall presently see that the notices of the land of Gennesaret in the New Testament point to the northern rather than the western plain. It must be owned, however, that the fountain described by Josephus yet remains to be identified; and that the ruins at Tell Hûm are about two miles distant from either the Batihah or the Ghuweir.

We must not forget to observe that the name Tell Hûm has been appropriately derived from Kaphar-nahum, the Hebrew form of Capernaum, signifying probably the Village of Consolation. The first syllable of the latter portion of the antient name has been dropped, while *kaphar*, "village," has, in accordance with fact, been converted into *tell*, "mound" or "heap." This is moreover the only satisfactory explanation of the name that has been offered; for although Tell Hûm has been sometimes translated the Mound of the Herd of Camels, the Arabic word for a herd of camels is, according to Rödiger, not *hûm*, but *haum*.

The vestige of the antient name Chorazin may be traced with a yet greater degree of certainty. Among the places mentioned to me, when at Safed, as existing in the neighbourhood, was one named Karazeh<sup>1</sup>; which I immediately concluded must be the Chorazin of the Gospels. I ascertained its position to be near the Jordan to the north of the Lake of Gennesaret, but was prevented from visiting it; but I have now the satisfaction of finding it had been previously discovered and identified with Chorazin by Mr Williams. He calls it Gerazi; and describes it, in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, as lying on the hills, about two miles north-west of Tell Hûm. This distance exactly accords with the notice of Eusebius and Jerome, who speak of Chorazin as two miles from Capernaum; a circumstance which confirms the correctness of the

<sup>1</sup> In Arabic, كرزہ.



identification of the sites of both cities. Chorazin was deserted in the time of Eusebius: Mr Williams says of it, "It is now utterly desolate: a fragment of a shaft of a marble column alone standing in the midst of universal ruin." The site had been heard of in 1738 by Pococke, who calls it Gerasi.

We come lastly to Bethsaida. A city of this name is mentioned by Josephus as having been enlarged and beautified by the tetrarch Philip, and called by him Julias, in honour of the daughter of Augustus. It was situate in Lower Gaulanitis, and consequently on the east of the Jordan; and stood a short distance above the entrance of the Jordan into the lake<sup>1</sup>. Its site was fixed by Robinson at the ruins called et-Tell, situate on a conspicuous hill at the north-western corner of the plain el-Batihah; and in this conclusion most subsequent writers have coincided. De Saulcy alone wishes to transfer Bethsaida-Julias to the other side of the Jordan, and to fix it at Tell Hûm; in opposition to the assertion of Josephus that the river passed Julias before it entered the lake, to the known fact that the Jordan was the western boundary of the province of Gaulanitis, and to the express statement of Pliny, that Julias was on the east of the lake. His principal argument is founded on the assumption that some military operations which Josephus in his Life relates to have taken place near Julias, could only have occurred on the western bank of the river; but there are several fords across the Jordan in this part, Josephus expressly speaks of some cavalry being sent to lie in ambush across the river, and the plain in which the subsequent engagement occurred could only have been the Batihah on the eastern bank<sup>2</sup>.

Since the days of Reland, however, it seems to have been almost universally regarded as an established fact, that this Bethsaida could not have been the Bethsaida of Andrew, Peter, and Philip; because the former stood in Gaulanitis, while the city of the apostles is called Bethsaida of Galilee<sup>3</sup>. De Saulcy alone has had sufficient independence of mind to combat the assumed existence of two Bethsaidas; and although we cannot coincide in the result at which he arrives as to the site of the town, we must agree with him as to the strong *a priori* improba-

<sup>1</sup> Jos. Ant. XVIII. 2. 1. B. J. II. 9. 1; III. 10. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Jos. Vita, § 72.

<sup>3</sup> John xii. 21.

bility of there being two cities, evidently both places of importance, standing on the shores or within sight of the same lake, and known by the same name. Those who have in this instance followed Reland's view, without making any question of its soundness, can hardly have taken the pains to observe with what modesty and diffidence he himself puts it forward. After stating that the one Bethsaida was in Galilee, the other in Gaulanitis, and proposing to distinguish them from each other on this account, he adds: "It is asserted by some, that a part of Gaulanitis was also called Galilee. If they can succeed in proving this, they will have gone far towards solving the difficulty, and I shall have little hesitation in acknowledging myself convinced by their argument." We have already shewn that such was really the case, and that the term Galilee is by no means to be restricted to the political tetrarchy of that name; and the primary objection to the identification of the two Bethsaidas is thus removed. Indeed that Galilee, taken in its wide sense, included the transjordanic district in which Bethsaida-Julias stood, is strikingly confirmed by the circumstance that Julias itself is enumerated among the cities of Galilee by Ptolemy the geographer.

We may here remark that no trace or tradition appears really to remain of there having been any Bethsaida on the western side of the lake. Travellers have conjecturally fixed it at different sites, and have even professed to hear the name Bethsaida along the western shore. But Robinson is probably right in asserting that wherever this has not been in consequence of direct leading questions, which an Arab would always answer in the affirmative, the name has doubtless been heard either from the monks of Nazareth, or from Arabs in a greater or less degree dependent on them. Indeed the multiplicity of the results at which travellers have arrived respecting the position of the assumed Bethsaida is a proof of their incorrectness. One writer places it at el-Mejdel; another between el-Mejdel and Khân Minyeh; others at Tâbigha. Pococke heard the name at Irbid; Seetzen at Khân Minyeh. Williams declares that the rocky promontory in front of Khân Minyeh is still called Râs Seiyada, and that some ruins between this and Tâbigha are believed by the natives to mark the site of the town. Robinson enquired for Bethsaida all along the western shore of the lake

and round its northern extremity, but was unable to hear of any such name. I enquired also myself, when travelling southward by the same road; at first without being able to gain any reply; but afterwards a party of Arabs directed me, though with some hesitation, southward past el-Mejdel on the road towards Tiberias. But answers of this kind, framed with ease, and extorted with difficulty, are not to be trusted. I am convinced that the name Bethsaida has really perished; and it seems to me, that having determined the sites of Capernaum and Chorazin further to the north, we ought to seek for the Bethsaida of the Gospels not along the western shore of the lake, but on the contrary, just in the place where we know that Bethsaida-Julias must have stood, not far from Chorazin, which is only mentioned in connexion with it. In fact the three cities of Bethsaida, Chorazin, and Capernaum, all looked upon the plain el-Batihah, the land of Gennesaret; and it was probably when surveying them all from some point in this plain, that our Saviour uttered His denunciation against them.

The theory of two Bethsaidas has been carried to a greater length by most of Reland's followers than was done by Reland himself; and it has been very generally asserted, not only that Bethsaida of Galilee was a distinct city from Bethsaida-Julias, but also that mention of both is to be found in the Gospels; though, as might be anticipated, no two writers agree as to which passages refer to the Galilean, and which to the Gaulanite city respectively. It must be confessed that a comparison of the two accounts given by St Mark and St Luke of the feeding of the five thousand, affords some countenance to the position that two different Bethsaidas are intended. St Luke relates that Jesus took His apostles and "went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida;" that the people, having ascertained His place of retreat, followed Him; and that there the miracle was performed<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand St Mark, having narrated how Jesus departed into a desert place by ship privately, and how having been followed by the people, He there miraculously fed them, concludes thus: "And straightway He constrained His disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side before unto Bethsaida, while He sent away the people<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Luke ix. 10—17.

<sup>2</sup> Mark vi. 32—45.



Thus St Luke apparently represents the scene of the miracle as near to Bethsaida, while according to St Mark Bethsaida must have lain on the other side of the lake. Yet the single argument deducible from a comparison of these two separate accounts is surely not sufficient to warrant us in assuming not only that there were two cities of the same name near the shores of the lake, but also that the evangelists would ever make mention of them indiscriminately, without specifying which of the two they intended. If there were really two Bethsaidas, it is difficult to conceive that public convenience would not have necessitated the general adoption for the Gaulanite city of the authoritative name of Julias, which must have been bestowed upon it before the days of our Lord's ministry. If, however, no reason of this kind existed for the universal use of the new name, we can easily suppose that the mass of the people would still continue to designate the town by the old title, which expressed at once the principal occupation of its original inhabitants,—Beth-saida, House of Fishing. But to those who advocate the existence of two Bethsaidas we may fairly put the question: If there were two cities of the same name, both rendered remarkable by the miracles which our Lord wrought, either in their streets, or in their immediate neighbourhood, on which of the two was it that He uttered His denunciation?

Different explanations may be framed to meet the difficulty arising from a comparison of the accounts of St Luke and St Mark already quoted. I should myself prefer taking the words of St Luke, *ὑπεχώρησε κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαῖδά*, and rendering them thus: "He went aside privately into a desert place *from* the city called Bethsaida<sup>1</sup>." Such a translation is at least grammatically admissible; and the name of the city may have been mentioned to indicate the place from which the multitude followed Jesus when they heard of His departure. Guided by the narrative of St Mark, we shall then fix the scene of the feeding of the five thousand on the western side of the lake. The narrative of St John, too, renders it probable that the spot was somewhere in the vicinity of Tiberias. We are told by St John that the only vessel which originally lay in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of the miracle was that in which our

<sup>1</sup> So the text. rec. : but the reading land to Bethsaida, and then by ship to is very doubtful. Perhaps He went by the *ἐρημος τόπος*.

Lord Himself with His apostles had come, but that afterwards, on the ensuing day, other vessels approached from Tiberias<sup>1</sup>. The tidings of the miracle had probable been carried first to Tiberias, as being the nearest town, and had immediately attracted a number of vessels from that place to the spot where Jesus was supposed to be. But had the scene of the miracle lain, as has been of late generally supposed, on the north-eastern shore of the lake, then the tidings of it (which could only have been carried on foot) must have spread to all the other cities on the shores of the lake before they reached Tiberias; and this would thus be the last place from which vessels would, in consequence, be likely to arrive. It is moreover remarkable, that a Christian tradition, of comparatively early date, should have fixed the scene of the miracle in the neighbourhood of Tiberias. The exact spot to which the tradition attaches, is about three miles to the west of the city: it is marked by some large blocks of black stone, and is called by the Arabs Hejâr en-Nasâra, "Stones of the Christians." It is without much doubt the spot visited by Arculf at the close of the seventh century, and perhaps the same with that to which Jerome cursorily alludes in his epistle "*De Sanctis Locis*"<sup>2</sup>. The tradition must not however pass for more than it is worth; and from the narrative of St John we might perhaps be disposed to imagine that the scene of the miracle lay somewhat nearer to the lake.

After the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus constrained His disciples to get into the vessel and cross the lake: He Himself subsequently joined them, walking on the sea. St John represents them as making for Capernaum; but he does not state where they landed: and he seems to intimate that on the following day the people sought in Capernaum for Jesus without success. St Mark relates that the disciples set off to Bethsaida; and both St Matthew and St Mark agree that Jesus and His disciples disembarked in the land of Gennesaret. We may best assume that the disciples on taking ship set off in a northerly or north-easterly direction, and that ultimately, after being joined by their Master, they passed by Capernaum and landed at the point on the shore of the land of Gennesaret, not far from Bethsaida, from whence they had originally set out on the previous day. They then walked across the plain to Bethsaida, where Jesus was

<sup>1</sup> John vi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Hieron. Opp. I. p. 209. ed. Vallars.

probably found (John vi. 25) by the multitude who had unsuccessfully sought for Him in Capernaum: He accompanied them back to Capernaum, the city where He dwelt, and there discoursed to them in the synagogue (John vi. 59). It is however impossible to harmonize the several narratives with any degree of certainty. That the explanation I have attempted to give of the geographical notices in the Gospels is free from difficulty, I am far from asserting: that the difficulty is much lessened by assuming the existence of two Bethsaidas, I cannot admit.

We have already seen that the name Gennesaret is probably nothing more than another form of the Chinnereth of the Old Testament. If so, the land of Gennesaret must have adjoined the city of Chinnereth; and as Chinnereth was one of the cities of Naphtali, we have thus an additional reason for identifying the land of Gennesaret with the plain to the north of the lake, rather than with the plain to the west—with the Batihah rather than with the Ghuweir, which latter most probably lay within the limits of the tribe of Zebulun. It is not unlikely that Chinnereth may have been an earlier name of Bethsaida; but we have no means of ascertaining whether this be so, or not; and there are other ruined sites at different points of the Batihah. The Ghuweir may be identified as the Dalmanutha of the New Testament; which, by a comparison of the parallel passages in St Matthew and St Mark<sup>1</sup>, appears to have been the name of the district adjoining the village of Magdala (el-Mejdel).

The evangelist St Matthew tells us that the city of Capernaum lay "upon the sea coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim<sup>2</sup>." This may simply mean that it lay on the sea, within the territory of those adjacent tribes. There is, however, no reason why the expression should not be interpreted more strictly, so as to denote that Capernaum lay close upon the border-line; and in this case we must suppose that the southern boundary of the inheritance of Naphtali stretched eastward to Capernaum, thus giving to Naphtali the immediate head of the lake. We are justified in assuming that the main part of the western shore of the lake lay within the boundaries of Zebulun, not only by the insignificant proportions to which the territory of that tribe would otherwise be reduced, but also by the circumstance that mention is made of the sea (i.e. the sea of Chinnereth) as the limit of

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xv. 39. Mark viii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. iv. 13.



part of the inheritance of Zebulun, while no such notice occurs in the case of the tribe of Naphtali. Capernaum might thus well mark the eastern extremity of the line of partition; and thus interpreted, the notice of St Matthew would seem to confirm and to throw light upon the records of the Book of Joshua.

J. F. THURPP.

#### IV.

#### *Observations on Mr Law's "Criticism of Mr Ellis's new theory concerning the Route of Hannibal."*

MR Law has honoured my treatise with a very long Criticism, and thus afforded me the satisfaction of seeing my theory tested by the animadversions of an opponent who is well acquainted with the subject, who seems perfectly conversant with the works which have been written upon it, and who is so well qualified to make the best of any case he supports, and the worst of any case he opposes. I can only express my regret that Mr Law was not able to examine personally the route of the Little Mont Cenis; a regret which I feel the more on account of the cause which obliged him to relinquish his proposed examination of that pass. It is my purpose, in the following pages, to notice what seems to me most important in Mr Law's work. In this I shall be as brief as possible, although I am afraid that I shall unavoidably extend my observations to a greater length than either I or my readers could wish. I will, however, do the best I can to confine myself to a reasonable compass, knowing that I have sufficiently trespassed on the indulgence of the reader in my previous treatise.

The first part of Mr Law's book, which seems to require notice, is that which attempts to invalidate the three points, on the strength of which I have concluded the claims of the pass of the Little St Bernard to be irreconcilable with the narrative of Polybius. These three points are: 1st. That from the road over the Little St Bernard, or from any point near the road, no part of the plains of the Po can be discerned; 2dly. That from the summit of the Little St Bernard to the commencement of the plains the distance is far too great; and 3rdly. That Hannibal, instead of descending from the Alps into the country of

the Taurini, would have descended through the country of the Salassi into that of the Libui.

With respect to the first point my words were, (p. 69):

"Of the four passes named, (Great St Bernard, Little St Bernard, Mont Cenis, and Mont Genève) it is only from one, the Mont Cenis, that Italy can be discerned. From the Mont Cenis alone could Hannibal have pointed out to his soldiers the plains of the Po."

To this Mr Law replies, (p. 7):

"Now it is my opinion, but I will not wait to work out a proof of its accuracy, that *Ἑνάργεια* signifies 'Evidence,' not 'View:' a correction which was properly made by my friend Mr Long in his 'March of Hannibal.' I wish there were more points of agreement between us. Mr Ellis himself has stumbled upon accuracy, when he translates the word 'manifestation.' *There is nothing in Polybius which requires us to conceive that there was ocular perception of the plain of the Po.*"

There might possibly be some faint hope of escape from the *ἐνάργεια τῆς Ἰταλίας*, though even that hope is almost entirely destroyed by the words immediately following: οὕτω γὰρ ὑποπεπτώκει, κ.τ.λ. The expression, however, διόπερ ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία can admit but of one interpretation, as Mr Law, I think, has himself more than a suspicion. For he again (p. 48) recurs to the subject. Again we meet with the *ἐνάργεια τῆς Ἰταλίας*, but not a hint of the *ἐνδεικνύμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία*, which is of course the expression on which I relied to prove the fact of those plains being visible.

I now turn to examine Mr Law's attempt to save the Little St Bernard on the second charge, that its distance from the commencement of the plains of Italy is far too great.

In p. 35 of my treatise I had said:

"Also, since the descent began on the eleventh day, and terminated on the fifteenth, no more than five days were spent on the descent. But of these, more than two were lost at the broken path: (viz.) all the twelfth, and the greater part of the eleventh and thirteenth days. There were therefore less than three days of actual marching between the summit of the pass and the commencement of the plains of Italy. This circumstance supplies another condition:

'The commencement of the plains of Italy must be less than three days' march from the summit of the pass.'"

Against this conclusion Mr Law says, p. 8 :

"The notion of 'less than three days' is a great error. It rests on the words *τριταῖος ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων κρημνῶν διανύσας, ἦψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων.*" (Not correct.) "This is assumed to mean, that the whole army marched from summit to plain within three days." (Not correct.) "It means no such thing. Hannibal touched the plain on the third day of his moving from the *κρημνοὶ* with those who had stayed back with him to get the elephants through." (No doubt of it. I never interpreted *τριταῖος* otherwise.) "*The chief part of the army had gone forward down the valley the day before he so moved : and, no doubt, had done so at a much earlier hour than that on which the elephants proceeded the next day.*"

The first part of this passage is a palpable misstatement. It is evident that my "less than three days" has not the slightest connexion with the word *τριταῖος*. The passage of my own treatise which I have quoted, the settlement of the chronology of the march (*Treatise*, pp. 33, 34), and my journal of Hannibal's route (p. 65), may be sufficient to prove that I never held the views, or made the assumption, which Mr Law attributes to me, but without giving any reference to my treatise in support of his assertion. On the next page (p. 9), Mr Law repeats this misstatement, and makes another with respect to the days of *movement*, equally disproved by the same passages to which I have referred<sup>1</sup>.

The last sentence of the passage I have cited from Mr Law contains the suggestion by which he hopes to save the Little St Bernard. It is developed a little more in the remainder of the paragraph. Mr Law's object is to shew, as M. Deluc attempted to do before him in the *Bibliothèque Universelle de Genève*, that one part of the Carthaginian army marched down the valley in advance of the rest, which had remained behind with the elephants; and that consequently this part of the army, which Mr Law says was the chief part, may have reached the plains before the elephants arrived; and that, a part of the army having thus reached the plains, Hannibal, who appears to have remained behind superintending the works by which the path was made

<sup>1</sup> "Here, again, I recommend a better study of the meaning of words; especially to Mr Ellis, whose deduction" (nowhere) "is, that the army marched into the plain in less than three days from the summit! He contradicts him-

self as well as the author; for he allows that the march proceeded from the summit on the eleventh day, and reached the plain on the fifteenth. Here are five days of *movement*." (This requires no comment.)



practicable for the elephants, may thus be said to have reached the plains himself, while he was actually still in the heart of the Alps. This seems to be Mr Law's view, as partially explained in pp. 8, 9, of his *Criticism*.

Fortunately for the reader, it will not be necessary to discuss the improbabilities of such an extraordinary pile of suppositions. It rests, as will be at once perceived, on the assumption, that the part of the army which first descended by the restored road did not wait in the valley for those left behind, but made the best of their way to the plains of the Po. Consequently, if it can be shewn that the *whole* Carthaginian army was re-united *after* the elephants had passed the broken precipice, and *before* the descent to the plains was effected, nothing more will be requisite to prove that the two days, or more, spent in repairing the path were totally lost to the whole army as far as progress was concerned, that the entire distance from summit to plain did not exceed three days' march, and that the theory of the descent of the army to the plains in two bodies is perfectly illusory. The first sentence of Polybius' 56th chap. which takes up the narrative immediately after the passage of the elephants by the restored road, will therefore at once remove the foundation from beneath the ingenious fabric of MM. Deluc and Law.

Ἀννίβας δὲ, συναθροίσας ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, κατέβαινε· καὶ τριταῖος ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων κρημνῶν διανύσας, ἤψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων.

Indeed the case is here an extremely simple one. Mr Law says, and justly so, that the third day (of repairing the road) must have been much advanced when the elephants were put in motion (to descend by it). Now the broken path, on the Little St Bernard, is placed by its advocates near La Thuile, about five or six miles from Pré St Didier. The utmost the elephants could have marched on that evening (the thirteenth) would have been as far as Pré St Didier, which is situated about seventy Roman miles from Ivrea. For the performance of this seventy miles' march there remain only two days. The Carthaginians must in that time have marched a distance which would have actually occupied them about five days. I think it will be acknowledged that I have said here with justice that it is not merely a difficulty, but an impossibility, which has to be overcome.

I now come to the third case in which the theory of the Little St Bernard fails capitally. Instead of Hannibal, on his descent from the Alps, entering into the territory of the Taurini,

he would, if he crossed the Little St Bernard, have descended through the country of the Salassi into that of the Libui. Mr Law considers that, according to Polybius, Hannibal ought to have descended, not into the country of the Taurini, but into that of the Insubres. I believe this is not the case, but it is not requisite at present to enter into that question. If Hannibal passed the Little St Bernard, he would have emerged from the Alps into the country of neither the Insubres nor the Taurini, but into that of the Libui. It is Mr Law's object to shew that the Libui had no individual existence in the time of Hannibal, but that their territory then belonged to the Insubres. His arguments, if they had any force, would prove equally well that the territory of the Libui belonged to the Taurini. The following is Mr Law's statement with respect to the Libui, (p. 10):

"We allow that on the original irruption of the Gauls into Italy, B. C. 400, a tribe called Libui squatted in the Dorian plain: *nothing beyond that one fact is known of them from any ancient writings*. Whether they ever existed as an independent people of Italy, nobody knows. If they did, how long did it last? There is no record of it."

In the middle of p. 10 of Mr Law's book we are thus told, that beyond the fact of the original settlement of the Libui in the plains of the Po, an event mentioned by Polybius, nothing is known of them from any ancient writings. At the bottom of p. 9, we are also told, that the circumstance which I had mentioned concerning the Libui occupying the plains below the opening of the valley of Aosta is "a feeble observation borrowed from Livy." How Mr Law pretends to reconcile these two assertions I cannot say. I will not, however, stay to dwell on Mr Law's self-contradictions. My object is now to prove the continued existence of the Libui, not to vindicate Livy's claim to be considered as an ancient writer<sup>1</sup>. It is sufficient for my purpose that Livy asserts the presence of the Libui in the plains of which Mr Law seeks to dispossess them. Whether we are to conclude from Livy's testimony that they occupied those plains in the time of Hannibal, or merely in Livy's own time, is indifferent to my argument; as we know that they settled there, (or at least to the west of the Insubres, according to Polybius), at the period of the first establishment of the Gauls in Italy.

<sup>1</sup> The works bearing the names of Pliny and Ptolemy would also appear to be of modern origin.

My third witness to the existence of the Libui will be Ptolemy, who assigns to them the towns of Vercelli and Lomello. This makes the Agogna, rather than the Sesia, at least partially, the boundary between the Insubres and the Libui.

We have thus satisfactory evidence of the continued presence, for some centuries, of the Libui in the same district, namely, in the plains extending westward from the Agogna, perhaps as far as the Orco. All Mr Law's efforts to annihilate them at the time of Hannibal's passage will be perfectly vain in the face of such testimony<sup>1</sup>. Yet one of these efforts must be noticed. "Livy himself," says Mr Law, "recognizes these (the Insubres) in my opinion, as sovereigns of the very country I claim for them. 'Taurinis, proximæ genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat.' I know it is said that 'proximæ' means nearest to Hannibal. Livy could not so intend it. He had already brought Hannibal into the Taurini. He was already *among* that people: therefore not *near* it. Insubres, too, is the only word in the whole sentence to which 'proximæ' can have reference. *And let it not be said that it would be inconsistent, for Livy in one place to speak of the Libui, and in another of the Insubres, as occupying the same district or portion of the plain.* In one passage, he speaks of a nation at war with another nation: in the other he wishes to indicate a particular spot in the great northern plain framed by the Alps, the Apennine, and the Adriatic: that spot was the embouchure of the valley of Aosta," (pp. 10, 11). No such thing. Livy uses the words "Libuos Gallos" to define a people, not a locality: for otherwise his argument about the Taurini would go for nothing, as they might themselves have inhabited the ancient Libuan district.

I think it will be universally allowed that the word "proximæ" does not refer to the Insubres. The "Taurinis, proximæ genti," (cap. 39), is merely a repetition of the "Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat," (cap. 38). If Mr Law's interpretation were the correct one, it would be to the Insubres, not to the Taurini, that the words indicating "proximity" ought logically

<sup>1</sup> In Liv. XXXIII. 37, (B.C. 196) we find the Boii, then in alliance with the Insubres, making a predatory inroad upon the Lævi and Libui. This is hardly consistent with three positions of Mr Law, (1) That the Libui were the same

tribe as the Lævi, (2) That they had ceased to exist as a people before B. C. 218, (3) That the territories belonging to the Libui, B. C. 196, belonged to the Insubres, B. C. 218.



to be applied. But yet, even if "*proximæ*" did refer to the Insubres, which I cannot believe, I do not see why the Libui should be annihilated by it. We do not know what extent of country the Taurini occupied in the time of Hannibal, and must consequently, in default of other evidence, allow the matter to be determined by writers of a later date than Polybius. On a question of geography such as this, Ptolemy will be our chief authority. He seems, however, to give to both the Taurini and the Insubres the greatest extent of country allowable; including in the territories of the Taurini the whole, or a part, of the country of the Vagienni, and in those of the Insubres the district occupied by the Lævi, the founders of Pavia, as well as the town of Novara, originally built by the Vertacomacori. Ptolemy assigns four towns to the Insubres: Milan, Como, Novara, and Pavia; and four to the Taurini: Turin, Augusta Batiennorum, (or Vagiennorum), Voghera (Iria), and Tortona (Dertona). Now it seems almost certain that the territories of the people who possessed Tortona and Voghera, must have bordered on the territories of the people who possessed Pavia, or that the Taurini must have been "*proximi*" to the Insubres, though Livy's words do not imply such a circumstance: but how the fact of such propinquity can have affected the Libui, I am quite at a loss to imagine. Mr Law indeed, in his map, deprives the Taurini not only of Voghera and Tortona, but also of all their country on the right bank of the Po, leaving them only the narrow district between that river and the foot of the Alps, and thus securing them, for the benefit of his theory, from all chance of contact with the Insubres, excepting through the Libui. There are, however, it must be acknowledged, some other maps, in England at least, equally erroneous with that of Mr Law in this particular point, and by which it is possible that he may have been misled. Yet, in such a case as this, the original authorities ought to have been consulted. At all events, the word "*proximæ*" will be of little service to Mr Law, even if he be allowed to interpret it in a manner which reason and syntax alike repudiate<sup>1</sup>.

Such then are the arguments by which Mr Law attempts to

<sup>1</sup> Mr Law has here endeavoured to fix the Insubres in the plains of the Dora Baltea, on the authority of Livy.

I shall have, at a later period, to consider his efforts to enlist Polybius in the same cause. See note, p. 327.

invalidate the three conditions which I have considered to be conclusive against the Little or the Great St Bernard, or, it may be said generally, against any pass leading into the valley of Aosta. It is to this part of Mr Law's book that I would particularly solicit attention, for I think that, if any sparks of vitality yet remained in the theory of the Little St Bernard, Mr Law has contrived to extinguish them. If a man so full of knowledge, ability, and acquaintance with the subject, makes so very feeble a defence, what must be the nature of the cause he endeavours to support? In the case of so complete a failure, either the cause must be utterly bad, or its advocate inefficient. This last supposition cannot be for a moment entertained; and we are consequently forced to the conclusion that the cause which Mr Law has advocated is one which nobody could save. Hannibal could not have crossed any pass leading into the valley of Aosta.

Mr Law, having exhausted all his conservatism in strenuous but worse than unsuccessful efforts for the resuscitation of the Little St Bernard, now commences an attack, which is meant to be very destructive, upon my system. The first point on which we differ is, as to whether the Carthaginians followed the Rhone or the Isère from the confluence of the two rivers. I have given at considerable length (*Treatise*, pp. 22—28) my reasons for preferring the Isère to the Rhone; reasons which I do not find at all shaken by any observations which Mr Law offers on the subject, (pp. 15—17). Indeed, he can hardly be said to touch upon my arguments, or to obviate in any degree the strong improbabilities which may be urged against the adoption of the line of the Rhone and the Mont du Chat. Neither do I think he will make many converts to the belief that the road from Vienne by Bourgoin to St Genix lies *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* (the Rhone); still less *παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν*, (cap. xxxix.) But Mr Law carefully ignores the word *αὐτόν*, which would hardly allow him to make Hannibal wander to a distance of a dozen miles from the river-side, and never come near it at all for a length of some thirty miles.

The second point of difference between Mr Law and myself is, that I have taken it for granted from the narrative of Polybius that his Allobroges and the men of the Island were different tribes, while Mr Law (pp. 17, 18) seems to regard

them as the same people. Two passages especially of Polybius appear sufficiently decisive on this point:

"The most signal benefit however which he (the king of the Island) conferred upon them (the Carthaginians) was, that as they were apprehensive of danger while they marched through the territory of the Gauls who are called Allobroges, he covered their rear with his own troops (the men of the Island) and secured for them a safe advance until they approached the passage of the Alps."

"But when these last (the men of the Island) had returned to their own country, and Hannibal, with his army, was advancing towards the places which were difficult of passage, the chieftains of the Allobroges collected a sufficient body of forces, and took possession of the advantageous posts along the road by which Hannibal was obliged to make his ascent."

Now if for the "men of the Island" the expression "Allobroges" be substituted, these two passages become absolute nonsense. That the men of the Island were the Allobroges of Polybius is thus a proposition at once susceptible of a *reductio ad absurdum*. Consequently, as the people of the Island appear most probably to have possessed the whole district so called, we must seek for the Allobroges elsewhere. They would, as results from the narrative, have occupied, perhaps with other districts, the country to the east of the Chartreuse mountains, while the people of the Island occupied the district to the west of the same chain. Thus the level country, through which the men of the Island guarded the Carthaginian rear, and which lay at the foot of the Alps in the territory of the Allobroges, would have been, almost of necessity, the vale of Graisivaudan, which separates the Chartreuse mountains from the Alps. Mr Law and the other writers who wish to carry Hannibal over the Mont du Chat, are obliged to place this level country to the west of the Chartreuse mountains in the territory of the men of the Island. They are thus, as the same level country also lay in the territory of the Allobroges, forced to confound together two tribes which Polybius represents as perfectly distinct, and to consider the enemies and friends of Hannibal as one and the same people<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Law asks here, among other questions, whether I conceive that the auxiliary force of the islanders made their way through the impracticable



The next four pages of Mr Law's book are occupied in an attempt to confute my position that the fifteen days occupied in the passage of the Alps are reckoned from the town of the Allobroges. Mr Law wishes to reckon them from the point where Hannibal left the river; but I have sought in vain, both in Polybius and in Mr Law, for any reason which warrants such an assumption. Mr Law appears even (p. 22) to have perceived, as any one might have done, the chief reason for supposing that the fifteen days are reckoned from the town; but he has been carried away, by previous false impressions, from arriving at a sound conclusion. I must consequently, at least briefly, touch upon the main points of the argument, leaving a perusal of Polybius to supply the rest.

After the halt at the Town, the first period mentioned is one of four days (*τετραταῖος*). At the termination of this period Hannibal fell into great peril. (The battle at the Rock, according to my view; a conference with some Gauls, according to Mr Law's view.) The point from which this *τετραταῖος* is reckoned is not stated.

The next date mentioned by Polybius gives a period of nine days (*ἐνναταῖος*). At the end of this time Hannibal gained the crest of the Alps. Nothing is said with reference to the point from which this *ἐνναταῖος* is reckoned.

I see here but two suppositions to adopt. The term of nine days must be reckoned either from the beginning or end of the four days. The latter supposition, the most obvious, is inadmissible: the passage of the Alps could not then be effected in fifteen days. As the term of nine days must thus be reckoned from the same point as the term of four days, we have only to determine from what point *τετραταῖος* is reckoned. On this the nine days, and, as may easily be perceived on the perusal of Polybius the fifteen days also, will depend. But *τετραταῖος* is plainly reckoned from the Town: the *ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς*, κ. τ. λ. renders it impossible that it should be reckoned from the point where

mountains on the left bank of the Isère to Grenoble. As Hannibal must have left the Isère to make his way through these mountains, and as Polybius says that he marched *παρὰ τὸν ποτάμον*, and as I adopt the plain (or 'un-Polybian') meaning of these words, Mr Law's

question was quite unnecessary. I leave it to him to force Hannibal to take a great circuit for no other purpose than to be obliged to make his way through *ὄρη δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέμβολα, καὶ σχεδόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπρόσιτα*.

Hannibal left the river, or from any other point than the Town. This, Mr Law is far too acute not to perceive: "the context requires τεταρταίος to date from the town, as plainly as if ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως had followed it." I wonder Mr Law did not perceive the consequences of this admission.

The next part of the *Criticism*, (pp. 23—36), which is rather long, and more general than particular in its scope, I must leave in a great measure to the reader's own judgment. The object of Mr Law's attack is to overthrow the views I entertain with respect to certain sentences in Polybius' narrative. Mr Law, though he makes here large extracts from my treatise, yet carefully avoids quoting fully my own statement of the views I entertain, although that statement is expressed, I think, very concisely, and perhaps too concisely. Instead of this plain course, he selects the one word "summary," and argues the question on his own assumptions of what such a summary ought to mean. I must therefore here quote from myself. I have said, (p. 6):

"The historian (Polybius), before entering into the details of a particular march, event, or military transaction, gives, in a few lines, what may be regarded as a short statement or summary of the occurrences which took place at that particular period. (Here Mr Law ceases to quote.) Having done this, he proceeds to make such observations, and give such explanations, *as appear necessary*, or to narrate at length the various circumstances that attended the facts in question, *whenever they were of such importance as to deserve minute consideration*. The short summary serves *frequently*, in point of fact, as an argument to the succeeding and more detailed account."

Here, it will be observed, there are limitations of my proposition, and certain contingencies mentioned, of which Mr Law takes no notice. Having (p. 28) quoted the first sentence of the passage I have cited, he finds it advisable to leave out the rest. This omission gives Mr Law some apparent advantages. Thus (p. 34) he is enabled to say: "the summary is nearly as long as the matter summed." Yet this is no inconsistency on my part. According to my views, as I have stated them myself, (and by Mr Law's suppressions or additions I am clearly not bound), there is no reason why a summary or short statement of events should of necessity require observations, explanations, or details, longer than itself. What is requisite must follow, but nothing more.

Such sentences as those which I marked in large letters in my treatise are the introductory clauses, in which a new division of the historian's subject is opened and shortly stated. They mark strongly the passage from one branch of the narrative to another, and thus obviate that fruitful source of confusion, the running of one subject into another. Sometimes they are almost a necessity, as it would be difficult to ensure clearness without some similar means. Those acquainted with history will not, I think, find that difficulty in comprehending my views, which Mr Law either feels, or affects to feel. They will probably have observed several passages in the writings of historians, from which this part of the narrative of Polybius, and the mode of composition into which I have supposed him to fall, may be illustrated. An abundance of such passages may be found, for example, in the early part of the fifth book of Robertson's *Scotland*.

Mr Law's long attack concludes (p. 36) with the following paragraph, where some more definite grounds of objection to my views are brought forward, and which requires a more particular notice.

"Polybius is a writer, who gives his facts in a plain straightforward way; and this miserable scheme of sham abridgements is utterly abhorrent from his style. There was not even a division into chapters, till a few years ago, when it was made, I believe, by Professor Schweighæuser."

The argument in the first of these sentences is not very strong. Had Mr Law condescended to simple discussion, I think he would have had some difficulty in proving that these "sham abridgements" were held in such "abhorrence" by Polybius. In support of this opinion, I will take the two most important of my so-called summaries, the only two which influence any of the conditions for the determination of Hannibal's route. They are these:

1. "During the days immediately following he led on the army safely for some distance: but on the fourth day he again had to encounter great dangers."

2. "Thus at length, having completed his march from New Carthage in five months, and his passage of the Alps in fifteen days, he boldly descended into the plains of the Po, and the country of the Insubrians."



Here are five facts mentioned :

1. An undisturbed march of some days.
2. A great danger encountered on a particular day.
3. A march of five months from New Carthage.
4. A passage of the Alps effected in fifteen days, (part of the previous march).
5. A descent into the plains of the Po, and the Insubrian country.

With respect to the whole five of these facts, I hold that the sentences quoted from Polybius are merely summaries, *i.e.* that each and all of the five are elsewhere described. As far as relates to the first, second, and fifth, I have, in my treatise, proved my point to the best of my power. As to the third and fourth, I believe all argument to be unnecessary. Should Mr Law, however, have any wish to argue that these two sentences of Polybius contain the *only* mention, or narration, of all, or any one, of the five facts they bring forward, the field lies open for him, though it seems to possess but few attractions in his eyes. If, on the other hand, it should appear, as I believe it will, that the whole five are merely mentioned here, and described elsewhere, then I think it will be necessary to consider these sentences in Polybius as short statements, summaries, or “sham abridgements.” Whether they form part of one “miserable system” is another question: but they will at least shew that Polybius falls at times into this mode of composition, as well as other writers, and that it is not so “utterly abhorrent from his style” as Mr Law would make out.

Mr Law's second argument, that drawn from the late date of the division of Polybius into chapters, is of a rather suicidal character. Modern historians are in the practice of marking transitions, and so preserving a clear style of narration, by breaking their composition into paragraphs, and sometimes even by giving, in marginal notes, an indication of the contents of one or more paragraphs. And yet, even in them, the same mode of narration, frequently in a manner double, which I have noticed in Polybius, may be observed. How much more requisite must such a mode of narration have been, when, as Mr Law says of the history of Polybius, the narrative formed one mass of text, unbroken by any division into chapters! Additional precautions would have been advisable in such a case, to ensure perspicuity,

and to mark the divisions between the different sections of the historian's subject<sup>1</sup>.

Mr Law, having failed in shaking such of my conditions for the determination of Hannibal's route as he has ventured to assail, and having avoided coming to the point with respect to all the rest; and having thus, to the best of his ability, invalidated those conditions, which form the basis of my system; now proceeds, in the next division of his work, to endeavour to shew that the route I have selected would not be in accordance with my own conditions, even if they were true, and also to make several other objections, some of which I shall now notice.

I have supposed Hannibal to follow the left bank of the Isère from its confluence with the Rhone up to a place called Le Cheylas, a distance which I have stated at 129 kilomètres =  $87\frac{1}{2}$  Roman miles, or 700 stadia; the distance from Valence to Grenoble (of course by the *left* bank of the Isère) being 96 kilomètres, and the distance from Grenoble to Le Cheylas being 33 kilomètres. The correctness of both these distances, the

<sup>1</sup> Mr Law strives, at an early stage of his work (p. 3), to throw discredit on my system of interpreting Polybius. "This invention," he says, "has in view one great object; namely, to place the battle with the barbarians near the white rock, on the fourth, instead of the eighth, of the fifteen days which Polybius allows to the Alps." Mr Law has here reversed the real order of things; at least if he wishes to imply that this "invention" had in view the accommodation of the Rock of Baune. That the battle of the Rock took place on the fourth day after the town was left, (an interpretation of Polybius due to the acuteness of one of my friends), was an opinion I had adopted before I left England to examine the route of the Mont Cenis. I had easily seen, beforehand, that the eighth day from the town was inadmissible. (See my *Treatise*, (pp. 48, 49). Mr Law has accused me here of striking out a comma after the word *ἐπαύριον*. If he had looked at Bekker's edition of Polybius, he would have seen that there was no necessity

for my making that correction. There can be no doubt about the connexion of τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον. Livy, who does little more here than translate Polybius, had evidently no idea that these words ought to be joined with προῆγε, or that Polybius meant to intimate that Hannibal reached the summit of the Alps on the ἐπαύριον. But to return to the identification of the 'strong white rock.') Accordingly, previous to my departure from England, I had, with the aid of Polybius and the map of the country, endeavoured to determine approximately where the λευκόπετρον ὄχυνον ought to be found, if Hannibal crossed the Alps by the Mont Cenis. I had, in pursuance of this plan, which made the search more interesting, and its results more satisfactory, fixed the site of the λευκόπετρον between St Jean de Maurienne and St Michel, and had marked it, on speculation, a little to the east of St Julien, almost on the very spot where I found the great Rock of Baune, which I had no difficulty in identifying with the 'strong white rock' of Polybius.

first especially, Mr Law disputes: "I doubt therefore that Mr Ellis's route is in distance even the 700 which he represents." The chief reason he assigns is, that the length of the post-road on the *right* bank of the Isère to Grenoble is 94 kilomètres instead of 96. Now, as I made Hannibal march up the *left* bank of the Isère, I certainly conceived myself entitled to measure the length of his march by the length of the carriage road on that left bank, though I do not suppose that the two routes were accurately coincident. Yet Hannibal's route could hardly have been the shorter of the two. The distances along this road, as given in the map called "*La France en kilomètres*" are: Valence to Romans, (Le Péage) 18; St Nazaire, 18; Rovon, 23; Sassenage, 30; Grenoble, 7. Total, 96 kilomètres, the distance of which Mr Law disputes the accuracy. The other distance of 33 kilomètres, from Grenoble to Le Cheylas, I derived from the milestones, which, I took it for granted, were placed at proper intervals<sup>1</sup>.

In pp. 39, 40, Mr Law makes some unimportant objections relative to my views with respect to the battle with the Allobroges, and says a word or two in favour of the claims of the Mont du Chat to be considered as the scene of that conflict. In the Mont du Chat I never believed. The crossing a chain of mountains, ascending on one side and descending on the other, could hardly be described as the passage of a defile, especially if, as there seems reason to believe, there was nothing here but an ἀναβολή. Nor is it easy, in the case of the Mont du Chat, to assign a probable site for the Town, which appears to have been situated near the defile, and, at the same time, in an open country. I am quite willing to concede to Mr Law that it is not absolutely necessary that any modern town should now exist where the

<sup>1</sup> Mr Law says (p. 38) that the country within the loop of the Isère below Grenoble is all difficult mountain. This is certainly not the case, at least if it is meant that, from Grenoble downwards, the mountains leave no open or practicable ground between themselves and the river. In p. 39, he also seems to wish to cast a doubt upon the existence or importance of the precipices which I have mentioned as being found in the

gorge of Le Fay, a locality of which he himself, by his own confession, knows nothing. Unfortunately for him, however, there exist maps of this country (those of Bourcet) in which all important precipices are indicated; and here the precipices in the gorge of Le Fay may be found marked. Bourcet's maps are rare: there is a set of them in the British Museum.



town of the Allobroges formerly stood; but still a probable site, even if now unoccupied, must be found for it.

In pp. 40—46, we find Mr Law's opinions on the subject of the battle near the "white rock." Our great points of difference relate to the numbers of the barbarians who, having previously occupied the slopes, attacked the Carthaginian van in flank, and also to the manner in which the march of that van (cavalry and baggage) was ultimately protected.

Mr Law says (p. 43), "It seems to me improbable, that the preoccupiers of the slopes, prior to the army coming up, were great in numbers." Is this consistent with the effect which, according to Polybius, their attack produced? *Τῶν γὰρ τόπων ὑπερδεξίων ὄντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀντιπαράγοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ταῖς παρωρείαις, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὰς πέτρας ἐπικυλίουσας, τοὺς δ' ἐκ χειρὸς τοῖς λίθοις τύπτοντες, εἰς ὁλοσχερῇ διατροπὴν καὶ κίνδυνον ἤγον.* We must suppose here the cause to be proportioned to the effect. There must consequently have been a large body of barbarians in possession of the slopes, more especially as it is expressly said that it was the dismay and danger caused by this attack which obliged Hannibal to employ half his army in guarding the van against the continuance or renewal of it. Nor do I see how Mr Law's mode of defending the van could possibly have been effectual against an attack in flank. "I infer from the history," he says, "that the support which he (Hannibal) gave them (the van) was by being in force behind them, though at a considerable interval of space." The reader may imagine the condition of the van of an army, itself helpless, with an enemy above them on their flank, and the troops which should have guarded them, not only in the rear, but separated from them by a considerable interval of space. But Mr Law will not allow that any barbarians were latterly left on the slopes to molest the Carthaginian van. The original possessors of the slopes had been (p. 44) "promptly exterminated." But this prompt extermination is not only never mentioned or hinted at by Polybius, but would have been almost, if not quite, impossible. How were the Carthaginians to come up with light-footed mountaineers, already in possession of the higher ground, if they chose to retreat up the mountains: and I cannot but think that they would have preferred retreat to "prompt extermination"? All that Hannibal could have done would have been to drive them back up the heights, and take up a position between them and

his own van, as I have supposed him to have done; not to mention that the narrative of Polybius seems, as I think, plainly to intimate that the half of the Carthaginian army employed in guarding the van, was employed in guarding it against the barbarians who were at first in possession of the heights. If also we suppose that the heavy infantry in the rear formed the guarding *half* of the army spoken of, there would be a large part of Hannibal's forces, in which the light troops would have been comprised, not accounted for; for the proportion of cavalry to infantry was very small. The guarded part of the army did not form nearly one half of it.

I do not think that the objection which Mr Law makes (p. 44) as to the distance of Hannibal's supposed position on the heights from the rock of Baune, will be found to be of any importance by those who have seen the locality, or formed a just conception of it<sup>1</sup>. The same objection would lie against the Roche Blanche. For the best or only *φάραγξ*, which the advocates of the Little St Bernard seem to have been able to find, is the gorge through which the torrent of the Reclus runs, a place through which I believe it is perfectly impossible for an army ever to have passed. This opinion as to the *φάραγξ* Mr Law accepts, though with some doubt (p. 45); "I will suppose then at present that this was the *φάραγξ* of Polybius: the precipice of gypsum rising from it on one side; and the precipice, for such it is (?) of the modern St Germain on the other: both unclimbable (?) in 218 B. C." The cavalry and baggage-animals then, according to Mr Law, defiled from the plain of Scez through the gorge of the Reclus, shouldering on their right the Roche Blanche. The guarding troops consequently, whom Mr Law has previously acknowledged were separated from them by a considerable interval, must have been at a distance from the Roche Blanche. Mr Law indeed says (p. 50), that Hannibal's large force in the rear held the plain of Scez with the rock as a *point d'appui*: but this evidently contradicts his former admission of the considerable interval, for the cavalry must have been, at the same time, partly in the same plain, and partly in the ravine at the foot of the rock. The same objection then, which Mr Law brings against the Rock of Baune, may be retorted upon the Roche Blanche, but with this important difference. The Rock of Baune, all but perfectly isolated, nearly

<sup>1</sup> Polybius' words are: *περί τι λευκόπετρον ὄχυρόν, near it, not on it.*

a mile in length, precipitous on every side, and crowned by a large and almost impregnable plateau, thoroughly *ὄχυρόν*, is the great feature in the country for miles round. The Roche Blanche (like the Rock of Baune, only partially white) is merely a low precipice in which a steep and lofty mountain-slope terminates, and which, as a feature in the country, is utterly without importance, and has no reasonable claim to the title of *ὄχυρόν*. Mr Law says that the "white rock" must have struck Polybius as a remarkable object, and Dr Arnold says that the Roche Blanche did not strike him as at all conspicuous. I think most visitors to the Little St Bernard, if they should happen to observe the Roche Blanche as they passed by it, would be inclined to agree with Dr Arnold.

The next part of Mr Law's work (pp. 46—51) relates to the question of Hannibal's pointing out the plains of the Po. It may be divided into two parts: (1) doubts as to whether those plains can be discerned from the point I have mentioned<sup>1</sup>, and (2) some weak arguments to shew that the plains were not visible, in which there is some talk (p. 49) about "Hannibal's oratory and the intellects of his men," but nothing about the words *ἐνδείκνυμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία, κ. τ. λ.* On neither of these points will it be necessary for me to dwell.

In pp. 51—56, Mr Law makes some observations on an article on Hannibal in Blackwood's Magazine, June 1845. The author of this article mentions the circumstance of his having seen (and also sketched) the plains of Italy and the Apennines from the Mont Cenis; a fact which, as Mr Law courteously observes, "rests on his own assertion<sup>2</sup>." I do not know whether the point of view of the writer in Blackwood was the same as that from which I myself saw the plains and the Apennines; yet as he speaks of it as being on "the southern front of the summit of the Mont Cenis," it would probably have been very near it. Mr Law's statement that the mountains which

<sup>1</sup> The following circumstance may possibly have conducted to these doubts. "Mr Ellis's view," says Mr Law, (p. 47), "is not among the sketches in his book."

<sup>2</sup> Mr Law says (p. 47) that the plain of the Po can be seen on the descent from the Mont Cenis by the old road when you nearly reach La Novalesse. He is mistaken: there is no such

view whatever. He also says (p. 49, note) that if the Apennines were visible from the point I have mentioned on the Mont Cenis, more than a small portion of the plains must also have been seen. This is plainly not necessary, as the tops of the Apennines, if within the range of vision, must evidently be the first part of the distant country which rises into sight beyond the intervening Alps.



the author mentions as Apennines, were most probably Alps, scarcely deserves serious notice. Only two chains of Alps could be seen by an observer on the Mont Cenis: the chain on the south of the valley of Susa, immediately opposite to him, and the chain on the north of the same valley, on which he would be standing. I do not think a writer in Blackwood would be likely to mistake either of these for the Apennines. In p. 55, Mr Law makes another effort to reckon days of halting as days of marching. "Polybius makes it (the distance from summit to plain) a good five days" (march). Really, five days at most, of which fully two were lost at the broken path: therefore, on the whole, barely three days' march.

Mr Law now (p. 56), avoiding the question of the precipitous descent into Italy, which cost Hannibal one fourth of his army, enters upon the subject of the old snow, which frustrated the attempt made by the Carthaginians to effect a circuit, when they found their road destroyed by a landslip. That no permanent snow is now found on the route of the Mont Cenis at the place where I have supposed Hannibal to have met with it, is a circumstance readily explained by the change of climate in the Alps; a fact supported by the authority of Gibbon and Arnold, and proved by the testimony of an eye-witness, that of Evelyn. Of these witnesses Mr Law takes no notice: in pp. 56—62, there is not a word of Gibbon and Evelyn, and but a slight remark (p. 59) about Dr Arnold. "I have," says Mr Law, "to deal with Mr Ellis, not with Dr Arnold."

Mr Law's case as to the old snow on the Little St Bernard I believe to be overstated. Mr Law says that "the torrent of the Baltea often exhibits through summer and autumn the phenomenon of the bridge of old snow fixed over the stream." This, he states, the evidence of De Saussure, even if he stood alone, would be sufficient to prove. Now I doubt whether the authority of a writer who lived in the eighteenth century would be considered sufficient to prove the existence of a phenomenon in the middle of the nineteenth. If Mr Law would allow me to go back another century, I should be able to prove, by the testimony of Evelyn, that the higher parts of the Simplon pass are now covered for miles with perpetual snow; a conclusion which, however agreeable to Mr Law's mode of reasoning, has the disadvantage of being entirely contrary to fact. I myself have twice crossed the Little St Bernard: in

August, 1849, and in July, 1854. Both times the result of my observation was the same. Neither in the gorge of the Baltea, nor near the gorge, nor anywhere on the pass of the Little St Bernard, was there a particle of snow. In support of the correctness of this assertion, as to the year 1854, I may appeal to Mr Law, who also crossed the pass in that year. But though Mr Law, and, I think, other advocates for the Little St Bernard, were not crowned with success in their search for old snow, yet I am ready to acknowledge that the circumstance which Mr Law mentions has sometimes occurred: I find it expressly stated by Bertolotti on the evidence of his own eye-sight.

But how does this snow in the bed of the torrent help Mr Law? How could it possibly cause men to slip down the precipices at the foot of which it lies? Had it been found on the mountain-side, above the bed of the torrent, it might have been of some use: as it has been found, I cannot see that it proves much, if anything. It might be supposed, perhaps, from Mr Law's expression, "a bridge over the stream," that it was at some height above the stream. As I never saw this bridge on the Little St Bernard, I cannot say what might be the case in that particular instance; but in all bridges of this kind, and I have seen many, they are always but little elevated above the torrent. Indeed, as the arch is formed by the torrent eating through the fallen mass of snow in its bed, it is difficult to perceive how it could possibly be otherwise.

The next section of Mr Law's work (pp. 63—68) relates to the point of entry into the plain. Mr Law makes here (p. 65) a second attempt upon the existence of the Libui, and also manages to confound them, during the ephemeral period of life which the necessities of his theory will permit him to grant them, with a perfectly distinct tribe, the Lai, (Λάοι) the same people as the Lævi of the Romans. He also makes another effort to shew, (quite disinterestedly, for it cannot benefit his theory), that Hannibal emerged from the Alps into the country of the Insubres<sup>1</sup>. I have (Treatise, pp. 60—63) given several

<sup>1</sup> I have stated in my Treatise that the country of the Insubres corresponded to the modern Milanese. This, I believe, is in accordance with the opinion of all geographers, Mr Law excepted, who wishes (pp. 65, 66) to move them westward into the plains traversed by

the Dora Baltea. He asks (p. 66), "Does Mr Ellis rely on Livy's report that the Insubres founded Milan in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, or does he go by the treaty of Vienna in 1815?" Mr Law also asserts, on the same page, that "*Polybius says nothing about the*

reasons for concluding that he descended first into the country of the Taurini, and passed through it, and probably also through some other districts, into the Insubrian territory. Should any one have doubts on this point, he might read the 60th chapter of Polybius, taking it for granted, as Mr Law would have him, that Hannibal had already effected his junction with the Insubres. I believe he would find much there scarcely to be reconciled with such a supposition, more especially the following passage. After the slaughter of the inhabitants of Turin, a part of the tribes in the plains, probably those of the modern Piedmont, are said to have submitted to Hannibal through fear. Concerning the rest, (those who had originally intended to join the Carthaginians, among which tribes the Boii and Insubres must be included, if they are not exclusively meant),—concern-

*Milanese.*" Now, if any one will turn to Polybius (II. 34), and examine his narrative of events which occurred only four years before Hannibal's passage of the Alps, it will be easy to see in what district he places the Insubres. For my assertion that they occupied the modern Milanese, I rely neither on Livy, nor on the treaty of Vienna, nor on any bridge, whole or broken, over the Ticino, but chiefly on these words of Polybius: "Ἐλαβον δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀχέρρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, σίτου γεμούσας, ἐκχωρησάντων εἰς τὸ Μεδιόλανον τῶν Γαλατῶν ὅσπερ ἐστὶ κυριώτατος τόπος τῆς τῶν Ἰσούμβρων χώρας." (See also cap. 32, where the Cremonese seems to be considered as a part of the Insubrian country, and the Chiese (Clusius) to be spoken of as the boundary between the Insubres and the Cenomani.) Polybius thus mentions two towns as belonging to the Insubres: Acerre (Gera), and Milan, their capital, the fall of which ensured the submission of the whole people. Ptolemy, as already stated, gives four towns to the Insubres: Milan, Como, Novara, and Pavia. Now Milan, Como, and Pavia, if not also Gera, are still in the district called the Milanese, while Novara was only detached from the duchy of Milan in the last century. "The modern Milanese" appears thus to be a particularly ac-

curate expression to define the ancient country of the Insubres. As to their extension westward to the Orco in the time of Hannibal, of course it is nothing more than a pure fiction.

I am glad to find that Mr Law acknowledges it to be absurd to suppose that the feud between the Insubres and the Taurini would have been a sufficient cause to induce Hannibal, when he had once arrived in the Milanese, to go out of his way to besiege Turin: but as Polybius, in despite of Mr Law's prohibition, and with a "perverseness" almost rivalling that with which Mr Ellis adheres to his "senseless" notions, obstinately persists in considering the Milanese as the Insubrian country, I am afraid that our critic will find himself mistaken when he asserts that he is not "driven to maintain such an absurdity."

Such is the last argument by which it is attempted to prove that the Insubres did not occupy the modern Milanese. Mr Law has endeavoured to shew that they possessed the plains of the Dora Baltea, first by the testimony of Livy, who expressly assigns those very plains to the Libui, and secondly by the testimony of Polybius, who fixes the Insubres in the Milanese, with Milan for their capital. As Mr Law says, "This won't do."



ing these we find the following statement : τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν τὰ πεδία κατοικούντων Κελτῶν, ἐσπούδαζε μὲν κοινωνεῖν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τῶν πραγμάτων, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιβολήν. The historian then proceeds to mention that the Roman armies having cut the greater part of them off from the Carthaginians, they did not execute their intention; and that Hannibal immediately resolved to march forward against the Romans, and, by some great success, encourage his promised allies to join him. All this, and the subsequent events, are perfectly clear, if we suppose that Hannibal had not yet effected his junction with the Insubres. We know that the Romans, while Hannibal was at Turin, had almost cut him off from the country of the Boii and Insubres. Indeed, when Hannibal, after leaving Turin, reached the borders of the Insubrian territory, he found there the Roman armies, which barred his entry into the country of his intended allies. By the battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia, the deliverance of the Boii and Insubres was effected, and the defeated Romans were shut up in Placentia and Cremona; and thus was that junction begun and completed, which Mr Law considers, (at least with respect to the Insubres), to have been accomplished previous to the siege of Turin,—an opinion irreconcilable with history, and liable to the additional objection, that it supposes *two* marches into the Insubrian territory<sup>1</sup>.

The length to which these observations extend has rendered unavoidable their division into two parts. What has been given above is all that relates to Polybius. The chief point canvassed in the remainder is the antiquity of the pass of the Mont Cenis, to the overthrow of which one-third of Mr Law's attack is devoted<sup>2</sup>.

R. ELLIS.

<sup>1</sup> The words κατῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσθμύρων ἔθνος (lvi. 3), may be compared with ἦγε διὰ τῶν Πυρρηναίων, λεγόμενων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καλουμένου ποταμοῦ διάβασιν (xxxv. 7). Yet Hannibal does not actually pass the Pyrenees or reach the Rhone till several chapters farther on. Does any one believe that either of these events occurred twice?

<sup>2</sup> I must here notice a misstatement of Mr Law's (p. 68), as it involves a side-blow at one or two points in my own theory. He says, "I went" (last year, I presume) "along the plain from Ivrea

to Turin at the opening of the valley of Susa." There must have been some illusion here. Almost every one must be aware that Turin is not "at the opening of the valley of Susa," but is separated from it by many miles of plain. The opening of the valley of Susa is at Avigliana. On this point De Saussure may be consulted. While mentioning De Saussure, I may also refer the reader to his *Travels*, on the question of the lake which has been supposed to have once occupied the plain of St Michel. He also mentions the old road by La Buffaz or La Buffe.

*Adversaria.*I. *Julius Charles Hare.*

It cannot be out of place in a Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology to pay a passing tribute to the memory of the founder of the Philological Museum, the translator of Niebuhr, the Guesser at Truth, the bold champion who so often entered the lists in defence of slandered and persecuted Right.

A late writer in the Quarterly seems to take but a narrow view of "die Bestimmung des Gelehrten" when he laments that Archdeacon Hare left so little behind him. Not that the visible fruits of his labours are indeed so paltry; but his chief mission was that of Socrates and of Coleridge, *fungi vice cotis*: on the full measure of his success no man living can yet hazard a conjecture: but we ourselves *know* that his own burning words in the dedication and preface to the "Mission of the Comforter" do but simply express the feelings which he inspired in many a young scholar, whom he could only reach by his wise and ever-ready letters or by his published works, the *long hands* of a king among men. For Seneca said truly: *Qui sic aliquem vereri potest, cito erit verendus*. He who so deeply revered his own guides could not fail to allure others into the path which had led himself to the one living Fountain of Human and Divine Truth.

His life and labours we hope ere long to see recorded at length by those who knew him best. Meanwhile even a few fragmentary notices may interest some readers.

One of his earliest friends, a veteran who long fought by his side in the battle for manly freedom of thought and purity of speech, thus dwells on his devotion to wisdom and his hearty affection, strong even in death.

(From the *Examiner*, Feb. 3.)

JULIUS HARE.

Julius! how many hours have we  
 Together spent with sages old!  
 In wisdom none surpassing thee,  
 In Truth's bright armure none more bold.

By friends around thy couch in death  
 My name from those pure lips was heard:  
 O fame! how feeble all thy breath  
 Than Virtue's one expiring word!

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

January 30, 1855.

Compare the dedication prefixed to Mr Landor's collected writings, and the *Conversation between Archdeacon Hare and Walter Landor* in what has happily taken its place among pseudonymous works: "The Last Fruit off an Old Tree."

Mr Hare's *λειτουργίαι* to the commonwealth of letters were known beyond the limits of his own country, and have been duly acknowledged in that land in which, above all others, the sacred fire of learning is tended with religious care. Thus Niebuhr writes of that version of his Roman History which its joint authors "felt to be scarcely less valuable as a moral than as an intellectual discipline."

"Have I told you that I have received copies of the English translation of the History? It is not absolutely free from faults; with respect to which it is singular that they do not occur in really difficult passages, but in perfectly clear ones, so that they can only have arisen from inattention: but these are trifles; on the whole the work is masterly, and a perfect genuine representation of the original. Then too it has such a beautiful exterior. The language is changing; many expressions in this translation, and in other examples of the higher literature, are quite new and unprecedented."—Letter cccliii. Bonn, 20th April, 1828.

Again, in the dedication of Dexippus:

JULIO CAROLO HARIO ET CONNOPO THIRLWALLO

CANTABRIGIENSIS SS. TRINITATIS COLLEGII

SODALIBUS

QUORUM OPE HISTORIA MEA ROMANA A BRITANNIS PRORSUS

ITA UT EAM ANIMO CONCEPI PATRIOQUE SERMONE CONSCRIPSI

LEGITUR,

EYNOIAS KAI EYEPTESIAS ENEKA

B. G. NIEBUHRIUS.

Welcker's notice of the Philological Museum (Rhein. Mus. 1835, p. 315) will interest the scholar. He there holds out the hand of friendship to this new ally as at once the offspring of present, and the parent of future, life among English philologists; as German poetry and philosophy had already done much in



lands of civil freedom to free men's minds from the tyranny of conventional prejudices. A beginning had indeed already been made by the translations of Niebuhr, Müller, Böckh, and of the chief grammars and lexicons; nor could any means be more suitable for carrying on the good work than such a Journal as he had before him. If of its two chief promoters one had more particularly cultivated poetry philosophy and theology, the other history mythology and philology, both alike were so deeply initiated into German literature, that Germany might with a just pride claim her share in their fame. A thorough reform of the traditional methods of treating ancient history mythology poetry and grammar required no little courage, as well as a noble enthusiasm for knowledge and for that more intimate alliance with other nations, which in science as in commerce and in politics must tend to the mutual advantage of all. The chief obstacles to such a reform were described in Mr Hare's preface; what shameless calumnies party spirit could engender even in matters of purely antiquarian research, German readers would learn with astonishment from his pamphlet: *A Vindication of Niebuhr's History of Rome from the charges of the Quarterly Review*. "This Vindication which is animated with the enthusiasm of friendship, is of course at the same time a justification of the theology of the translator: for, it seems, Voltaire did not sin more grievously against Christianity than Niebuhr in his *History of Rome*." Then follows a glowing panegyric on Bishop Thirlwall.

Welcker's generous appreciation of the merits of the Museum did but echo the chivalrous generosity with which Mr Hare had assailed the sophists who tried their prentice hand upon abuse of Savigny, Niebuhr, or "the learned Theban" Schlegel. Well might a man jealous for his country's honour exclaim, "*Wegen Savignys und Niebuhrs bricht der edle Hare eine Lanze mit dem Edinburgh Review*," on reading such words as the following, which will more fitly close this notice than any thing which we can say or find said by others: "Unless a person is pretty well acquainted with the literature out of which a work sprang, unless he is aware of the relation in which it stands to previous works, the knowledge which its author is entitled to assume in his readers, he will be destitute of the means requisite to frame a right judgement upon it. He may read it, if he is so disposed: he may talk about it: a literary dilettante, though one of the most

unprofitable members of society, might be more mischievously employed. But let him leave the task of reviewing it to those who are competent to do so. If authorship, when it sinks into a trade, were not one of the most unprincipled and profligate of all trades, we should not so often see persons pronouncing judicially on matters of which they must be fully conscious that they are utterly ignorant." (Philol. Mus. I. 202<sup>1</sup>.)

J. E. B. M.

## II. On the Insertion of Mutes between Liquids in Greek.

In No. IV. of this Journal, pp. 85, 86, Mr Day has maintained very justly, that the insertion of certain mutes in Greek into certain pairs of liquids or semivowels is to be ascribed (mainly) to the requirements of the vocal organs rather than to any peculiar delicacy of "the Greek ear." This he has tolerably well shown in the instance of the  $\beta$  between  $\mu$  and  $\rho$ ; less well in dealing with the  $\delta$  in *ἀνδρός*; but he fails altogether when he tries his hand on *ἑσθλός*.

I venture to think, however, that the principle on which he would explain the phænomena in question, is quite as readily applicable in this last case as in the others; and he will doubtless allow me to help him out of his difficulty. I will at the same time take the liberty of imitating his example in appealing to the reader's teeth and lips; though not in forgetting the tongue, which usually has the credit of doing all the work in speech. The nose also, the palate, the *velum palati*, &c., have not deserved to be altogether ignored, as we shall shortly see.

Now in sounding the surd lingual sibilant *s* or  $\sigma$ , we press the tongue against the upper front teeth, while the pendulous portion of the *velum palati* closes the nasal cavity, and the breath is emitted only by a narrow passage between the tongue and upper teeth<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tholuck in the Biblical Review, 1847, p. 97. Ibid. p. 41 seq. may be seen a frank and hearty commendation of the 'Mission of the Comforter'.

<sup>2</sup> That the *velum palati* is thus raised may be easily proved by holding, while sounding the *s*, a small looking-glass, or

any similar object presenting a polished surface, horizontally against the upper lip, with the bright surface upwards; this surface will remain entirely undulled, clearly showing that no breath passes through the nose while we pronounce this letter.

When we sound *l* or *λ*, the tip of the tongue lightly touches the palate, but the orifice of the mouth is not closed, the breath escaping on each side of the tongue. The *velum palati* is raised as before. But in the transition from *s* to *l*, the organs pass by, if not exactly through, the very position that is necessary for pronouncing our *th*, as in *thin*, *think*, or the Greek *θ*. (I assume for the present that these sounds are identical.) The formation of this *th* differs from that of *s* only in the less forcible pressure of the tongue on the teeth. To sound the former, only the tip of the tongue need touch the teeth; for the latter (the *s*), a considerably larger portion of its upper surface is brought into contact with the teeth and the anterior part of the palate, leaving but a narrow exit for the *λεγυρή άνέμοιο ιωή* to whistle through. The *s* therefore may with peculiar facility *relax into* the *th*, and with the more readiness when the letter that follows so resembles the *th* in the mode of its formation, that the latter can serve as a stepping-stone to it from the *s*. In different individuals minute differences in the form of the vocal organs may serve to account for any slight discrepancies that may exist in the results of observation or experiment in this department of philology; but I think almost any one who will be at the pains to pronounce *sl* very slowly—that is to say, passing very slowly from the former sound to the latter—will notice a tendency to insert a *th* between these consonants.

Similarly must we explain the phænomenon when *δ* is inserted in *άνδρός*, and *β* in *γαμβρός*, *άμβροτος*, *ήμβροτες*, κ.τ.λ. These mutes are helps in the transition from the first liquid to the second: how so, has been but imperfectly—and as to the *δ*, very imperfectly—shown in the paper I have alluded to. “After pronouncing *αν* the teeth are shut—to pronounce *ρος* they must be opened with an expiration; and this is precisely the process we should employ, if we wanted simply to produce the sound of *δ*.” There is certainly a lack of accuracy in this description of the articulation of the letter *d*, almost every consonant in every language being pronounced with the teeth “opened with an expiration.” But a strict physiological definition, if I may so say, of the letter, is not requisite: what is needed is to show the relation of the inserted mutes to the accompanying liquids.

Now the *δ*, as in *άνδρός*, and *β*, as in *άμβροτος*, resemble the *ρ* in just that particular in which they both differ from *ν* and *μ*. We



pronounce *r* with the *velum palati* raised, and the nasal cavity thus closed<sup>1</sup>; so is this cavity closed when we sound *d* and *b*. These otherwise become *n* and *m*,—a fact which has not, I think, received from philologists the notice it deserves. Of the five liquids that occur in the English language, viz. *r*, *l*, *ng*, *n*, and *m*, the first two are palatal, sounded entirely in the mouth; but to articulate *ng*, *n*, and *m*, the *velum palati* is lowered and the breath allowed partly to pass through the nose. Hence these consonants are strictly nasal; and only these. In forming all the others, we emit the breath from the mouth alone; and *ng*, *n*, *m*, when we close the nasal orifice by raising the *velum palati*, become *g*, *d*, *b*<sup>2</sup>. But in passing from *n* or *m* to *r*, besides other changes, the nasal orifice must be thus closed. Hence the tendency to effect the transition by halves, closing the orifice first, and making the other changes afterwards. But thus the *n* becomes *d*, and the *m*, *b*.

Yet can I not concur in the statement that these euphonic phænomena are “the result of a physical necessity arising from the conformation of the mouth in the human species.” It is the Greek mouth in which these phænomena occur, nor is the supposed necessity felt by every nation. The Hebrews had no difficulty in pronouncing the names Mamre, Zimri, Shimron, Shimshon, Zimran, Amram, Nimshi, Nimrod, &c., the Greeks were obliged (vide LXX.) to modify into Μαμβρη, Ζαμβρί, Σαμβράν, Σαμφών, Ζεμβράμ, Ἀμβράμ, Ναμείσι, Νεβρώδ, &c.<sup>3</sup> We manage quite easily such words as *enrich*, *unripe*, *unrest*, (the last of which we are never led to confound with *undrest*); but the Greeks, when they met similar words, either inserted a *δ* as in the word already so fully discussed, or dropped the *ν*, as in ἄρμος, ἄρμος<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For mode of proof see note 2, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> The affinity of *g*, *d*, *b*, to *ng*, *n*, *m*, is fully recognised in the Welsh language, the change from the former to the latter being termed “aspiration” in the grammars; but I have nowhere met with an attempt to explain the exact nature of this affinity.

<sup>3</sup> The only instances I have noticed in the LXX. where the labial mute is not thus inserted after the *μ*, are Num.

xxvi. 20, Σαυδάμ and Σαυραμ (but Cod. Alex. Ἀμβράν and Ἀμβραμ); Ναυρά (but Cod. Alex. Ἀμβράμ) in Num. xxxii. 3; and Σαυραμ, 1 Chron. viii. 26. These few exceptions to the rule may doubtless be accounted for by the fact—if even thus far we may credit the story of Aristæus—that the LXX. translation was made by Jews.

<sup>4</sup> That of the two negative prefixes in Greek (and in Sanskrit), *a* and *av*,

On the other hand this insertion of a mute after a liquid is by no means unknown in other languages besides the Greek. Witness the Latin *empsi* and *temptare*; also *templum* from root *tem-*, (compare Greek *τέμενος*); English *tumble*, German *tummeln*; our *tremble*, Spanish *temblar*, Latin *tremulare* (the existence of such a word being evidently implied in the Spanish, and in the Italian *tremolare*); the French and Spanish *nombre*, Latin *numerus*; also the Spanish *nombre* and *costumbre*. So we have *thunder*, German *donner*; *cinder*, and French *cendre*, Latin *cineris*; and similar are the French futures *viendrai*, *tiendrai*, &c.

But if it is mainly for the purpose of facilitating his pronunciation of these words that the Greek or the Spaniard, the old Roman or the Englishman, inserts the mute, I am not sure that this is the only reason. Languages that abound in vowels, the Polynesian languages for instance, and the Welsh<sup>1</sup>, are, as to sound, soft and feeble: strength, which often also degenerates into harshness, depends on the number of consonants. Strength without harshness is found where *well-assorted* consonants abound—but do not superabound. But I must not enlarge upon this topic: suffice to observe that no combination of articulations possesses more firmness and precision of sound than a liquid followed by a mute akin to it. Thus the English *hound* and German *Hund* have gained in strength as compared with the cognate terms in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. So when from the root *gan* we form a masculine analogous to *widower* from *widow*, we, and our Saxon sires before us, have strengthened the root, and at the same time facilitated the pronunciation, by the addition of *d*,—*gandra*, *gander*<sup>2</sup>. Compare also *τεῖνω* and *tendo*;

the latter is the older form, seems sufficiently proved by the analogy of the Latin *infinitus*, the A. S. *unscyldig* and *onrihtwis*, (whence our own *unrighteous*,) the German *unrecht*, &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> Scarcely ever has a greater mistake prevailed as to any simple fact in language, than the common notion that the Welsh language abounds in consonants. This mistake is doubtless chiefly to be ascribed to the mere appearance of the words to those who do not know that the *w* and *y* are always vowels in Welsh. The fact however is, if we

compare the following eight languages, as spoken, that to every 100 consonant sounds there are in English about 55 vowel sounds, in German about 61, in Sanskrit 65, in French 67, in Hebrew 75, in Russian 76, in Spanish 84, and in Welsh 103.

<sup>2</sup> I have too high a respect for the "bilateral theory" to share Dr Latham's doubt whether *gan* or *gand* is the older form, especially as there are, besides *ἀνδρός*, so many analogous instances in our own and other languages of the euphonic change described in the text.

*manus* and *mand-are*; γένος, *genus*, *kin*, and *kind*; μένος, *ment-is* and *mind*; *even* and German *Abend*; *loan* and *lend*; Sax. *hlem*, Germ. *Lamm*, Eng. *lamb*; &c. &c.

Nor is it uninteresting to observe, that in many such cases the mute belongs to the root and the liquid is the auxiliary. This occurs in several Greek words in which a final *θ* of the root is strengthened by an inserted *ν*. So from μαθ, *μανθ-άνω*, from λαθ, *λανθ-άνω*, from βαθ, βένθος, from παθ, πένθος and πέπονθα. In like manner from δάπτω by reduplication comes *δαρδάπτω*; from the root λαβ, *λαμβ-άνω*, with the dialectic forms *λήμψομαι*, *ἐλήμφθην*, &c.; from ῥιπ, *ρίμφα* and *ρίμφαλέος*, *dashing*; and compare *μόλυβος* with the Latin *plumbum*.

It remains that I should briefly remark on the opinion expressed in the paper alluded to, as to the pronunciation of *θ* in Greek—the opinion namely “that the Greeks pronounced it (as the French and other modern nations do *th*) like our *t*.” So far as *ἐσθλός* is concerned, and the apparent necessity for its sake of identifying *θ* with *τ*, it might be sufficient to ask—is *εστλος* really an easier word to pronounce than *εσθλος*, with the *θ* = our *th* in *thin*? I venture to think otherwise; nor will any one who habitually omits the *t* in pronouncing *castle*, *whistling*, *hostler*, &c., readily concede that the combination of consonants *stl* is of easy articulation. To the Greek the junction of *σ* and *λ* was difficult, as is proved by the LXX. form *Χασελεῦ* for the name of the month *Chisleu*, and by the fact that no Greek word begins with *σλ*. Nor was *τλ* a favourite combination: the Greek language has only one root (*τλα*) so commencing. Were *-ρος* the termination appended instead of *-λος*, the insertion of a *τ* might find a parallel in Manetho’s *Μεστραῖμ* as given by Syncellus, though the LXX. write *Μεστραῖμ* or *-ίν* without the *τ*.

But setting *ἐσθλός* aside—why should the Latins not have represented the Greek *θ* by their *T*, if it was so pronounced?—for I presume it will hardly be disputed that the Latin and the English *T* have the same power. We know, however, that when the Roman met with the sound of *θ*, whatever that was, he adopted a compound symbol to represent it, such as would at once indicate aspiration and a resemblance to the sound of *T*.

If again the Greek *τ* was identical with the Latin and English *T*, there is at least considerable probability that in the earlier



stages of the Greek language there would not be two symbols for the same sound. Indeed nothing could be easier than to prove, from facts with which every schoolboy is familiar, that the sounds of  $\theta$  and  $\tau$  were not the same.

Finally, how do the modern Greeks pronounce this letter? As nearly as possible like our *th* in *thin*, *think*, *throw*. I am inclined to think that in this case at least we may safely follow their authority. Many reasons may be assigned for believing that the modern Greeks have for the most part preserved the true ancient pronunciation of the consonants; although, as to both the power and the quantity of the vowels, they have departed greatly from the usage of their ancestors, from whichever of the ancient dialects the present Romaic is derived.

R. F. WEYMOUTH.

### III. *Emendation of a passage in the Refutatio Hæresium of Hippolytus.*

Δίο καὶ πληθύνονται γαυριώμενοι ἐπὶ ὄχλοις διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἃς οὐ συνεχώρησεν ὁ Χριστὸς, οὐ καταφρονήσαντες οὐδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν κωλύουσι, φάσκοντες αὐτῷ ἀφίεσθαι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψεν εἰ ἄνανδροι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία τε τε καίοντα ἑναξία ἢ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἣν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαίρειν. Διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἔχει ἓνα ὃν ἂν αἰρήσωνται σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην, εἴτε ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς μὴ νόμφ γεγαμημένην. [Origen. *Philos.* ix. 12. p. 291. Ed. Miller.]

In the first clause of this passage Bunsen<sup>1</sup> reads οὐδένα for οὐδέν, which is scarcely necessary. For αὐτῷ Miller proposes αὐτόν, Bunsen αὐτοὺς, Wordsworth<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὶ. The emphatic αὐτοὶ is out of place; αὐτόν seems the preferable emendation.

The latter clause καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν κ.τ.λ. is manifestly corrupt, and has been variously emended.

Miller has this note, "Ita hæc scripta sunt in codice. Nisi gravior corruptio inest, post ἐπέτρεψεν suppl. ἁμαρτεῖν (scilicet assumendo σύγκοιτον) et scribe ἡλικία καίοντο αἱ ἐν ἀξίᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἣν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαίρειν."

It will be necessary to bear in mind that according to the Roman Law there were cases, in which a marriage was valid, but

<sup>1</sup> *Analecta Antenicæna*, Vol. i. p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome*, p. 268.

attended with certain disabilities. Such was the marriage of a Roman citizen with one who was not a citizen, in which case the children took the rank of their mother<sup>1</sup>. The impediments to marriage which this law presented had, in the time of Calistus, been recently removed by the extension of the right of citizenship to all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. There still remained the case of marriage between parties of unequal rank.

If a senator's daughter married a citizen of lower rank she lost her title of *femina clarissima*<sup>2</sup>, and in general women of high rank lost their rank by such a marriage.

A senator's daughter might not marry a freedman—but other women of high rank might do so<sup>3</sup>.

One who was freeborn might not marry a slave. But it is obvious that a woman who wished to evade this law, could do so by first procuring the slave's liberty, and then marrying him as a freedman.

In fact, marriages of highborn ladies with freedmen and with slaves were far from uncommon.

But in the then degraded state of Roman morals, concubinage was to the full as common as marriage, and consequently formed a frequent subject of early ecclesiastical constitutions.

For instance :

‘Ο δυσι γάμοις συμπλακείς μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ἡ παλλακὴν κτησάμενος οὐ δύναται εἶναι ἐπίσκοπος, ἡ πρεσβύτερος, ἡ διάκονος, ἡ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ<sup>4</sup>.

Παλλακή τινος ἀπίστου δούλη ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ σχολάζουσα προσδεχέσθω, εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους ἀσελγαίνει, ἀποβαλλέσθω<sup>5</sup>.

Πιστὸς ἐὰν ἔχη παλλακὴν, εἰ μὲν δούλη παυσάσθω καὶ νόμῳ γαμείτω, εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρα ἐγαμείτω αὐτὴν νόμῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω<sup>6</sup>.

Παλλακή τινος δούλη τεκνοτροφούσα καὶ ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ σχολάζουσα ἀκούετω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ulpian, III. 8, quoted by Döllinger. *Hippolytus und Callistus*, p. 168. All that follows in regard to the Roman laws of marriage is given by Döllinger.

<sup>2</sup> D. I. T. 9. L. 8, quoted by Döllinger. p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Döllinger. p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Can. Apostol.* 13. Buns. *Analect.*

*Antenic.* Vol. II. p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Constitt. Apostol.* viii, 47. Buns. *Anal. Antenic.* II. p. 447.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Wordsworth (*Hippol.* p. 269) quotes this reading γαμείτω for ἐγαμείτω.

<sup>7</sup> *Constitt. Eccl. Egypt.* II. 41. Buns. *Analect. Antenic.* Vol. II. p. 464.

Ἐάν τις ἔχη παλλακὴν, παυσάσθω καὶ νόμφ γαμεῖτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποβαλλέσθω<sup>1</sup>.

Such being the state of society it became customary for highborn ladies to indulge their passions by living in concubinage with persons whom they would not marry, lest they should lose their rank.

Hippolytus complains of Callistus for dealing laxly with such cases.

Döllinger in his ingenious but laboured apology for Callistus, would represent this as a mere exercise of authority on the part of the head of the church to sanction marriages, not allowed by the State. The solemn rite of *confarreatio* having fallen into disuse, marriage was completed by the consent of the parties ( *affectio maritalis*) expressed by their living together as man and wife. The State had ceased to take any part in the union, and simply laid down conditions under which marriage could not take place. Thus there was no longer any external authority, religious or civil, to render the marriage tie holy or binding. The Church supplied what was felt to be a natural want, not merely sanctifying marriage by religious services, but authorizing and effecting it, independently of the State. It was therefore in no way essential to Christian marriages, that they should be approved by the law of the Empire. Both marriage and concubinage were recognized by the Roman laws, and were chiefly distinguished by their consequences in respect to the issue. Church-solemnization made a marriage lawful to Christians in whatever light the State might regard it. So that Callistus did no more than ratify and solemnize marriages between persons of unequal ranks, which the law of the State did not recognize as valid.

Such is Döllinger's view of the conduct of Callistus: and in accordance with it he would read,

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἀνάνδρῳ εἶεν, καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καίονται (vel καίοντο) ἀνάξια, τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἥν μὴ βούλονται καθαίρειν (sic).

Interpreting ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνάξια "he permitted unfitted things," and explaining the following sentence thus:

"Callistus declared that Christian women might contract either with a freeborn man or a slave a lawful marriage (i. e.

<sup>1</sup> *Anal. Antenic.* Vol. II. p. 464.



sanctioned by the law of the Church) even if they had not been married legally (i.e. according to the law of the State<sup>1</sup>.)

But 1. the absence of a formal ceremony does not necessarily imply, that the State ceased to be an external authority, making fast the marriage tie. The law is an external sanctioning authority to marriages in Scotland, contracted by a simple declaration, no less than in England, where some more formal act is necessary.

2. The Roman law, which punished bigamy, proves that the State did view marriage and concubinage in a different light in regard to the parties themselves, as well as to their issue.

3. There is no trace of the Church, in those days, acting in opposition to the State in these matters. The early Constitutions enlarge upon lawful wedlock (*νομίμως γαμεῖν*)<sup>2</sup>, and if they referred ultimately to the law of God<sup>3</sup>, it was as ratifying the law of men. That the church did recognize heathen marriages is proved by an early Constitution in reference to the examination of candidates for admission into the number of *Audientes*.

Ἐξεταζέσθωσαν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ τρόποι καὶ ὁ βίος, εἰ γυναῖκα ἔχει καὶ . . . εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔχει γυναῖκα ἢ γυνὴ ἄνδρα διδασκέσθωσαν ἀρκέισθαι ἑαυτοῖς. εἰ δὲ ἀγαμός ἐστι, μανθανέτω μὴ πορνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἢ γαμεῖν νόμφῃ ἢ ἐμμένειν νόμφῃ<sup>4</sup>. It is plain that the Church in those days had no idea of lawful marriage, which did not satisfy the conditions imposed by the State.

Certain concessions were indeed made in admitting persons living in concubinage as *Audientes*, as we may learn from the Constitutions already quoted in reference to *παλλακαί*, and from the notable example of Marcia, who was not only the concubine of Commodus, but married to the Captain of the Prætorian guard, and yet is called even by Hippolytus *φιλόθεος*<sup>5</sup>.

Evidently Hippolytus censures Callistus, whether with justice or not, for extending his concessions much further, and admitting

<sup>1</sup> Döllinger, p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> *Constitt. Apostol.* vi, 11. *Analect. Antenic.* p. 199; *ibid.* vi, 14. *Analect. Antenic.* p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Constitt. Apostol.* vi, 28. *Analect. Antenic.* p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> *Constitt. Eccl. Ægypt.* II. 40. *Analect. Antenic.* p. 463.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot with Wordsworth discover any indication of irony in the use of this word. Probably as Bunsen suggests Marcia was among the *Audientes*. See *Constitt. Ægypt.* II. 41 quoted above. Marcia did not fulfil even these conditions, but the mistress of an Emperor was naturally favoured.

to communion highborn ladies living in concubinage, because they would not lose their rank by lawful marriage.

Independently of other considerations it would be difficult to persuade ourselves with Döllinger, that in the same passage νομίμως γαμηθῆναι, and νόμφ γεγαμημένην refer, the former to Church-law, the latter to State-law, the two being in opposition.

These remarks refer rather to the explanation than to the emendation of the passage, but before we pretend to correct, we must have a clear perception of what the writer intended to say.

Bunsen and Wordsworth have both tried their hands on this passage. Bunsen in his first edition of his Letters to Archdeacon Hare proposed to read:

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐν ἀξίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνδρῳ εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίᾳ γε ἐκκαίοντο, τηρεῖν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἣν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν. Διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἔχει ἐνὶ ὧν ἂν κ.τ.λ.

Wordsworth would read:

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνδρῳ εἶεν καὶ ἡλικιώτῃ καίοντο ἀνάξίῳ, ἣ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν<sup>1</sup> (sic), διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἂν κ.τ.λ.

Which he translates thus:

“For he also permitted women, if they had no husband, and were enamoured of a comrade unworthy of themselves, or did not wish to degrade their own dignity, therefore they might lawfully marry any one whom they chose as a consort, whether a slave or free, and that she who was not married to him lawfully might regard him in the place of a husband.”

Bunsen in a note to his 2nd Edit. of *The Letters*, pronounces Wordsworth's to be upon the whole a successful emendation. But Döllinger objects that καίεσθαι in this sense must be followed by a genitive: and Bunsen himself suggests another reading, which he adopts in his *Analecta Antenicaena*.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνδρῳ εἶεν καὶ ἡλικίᾳ γε ἐκκαίοντο (ἀνάξια αἱ ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν!), διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἔχει ἐνὶ ὧν ἂν κ.τ.λ.

The parenthesis, with the note of admiration, is excessively awkward. In the *Analecta* the (!) is omitted, but the interpreta-

<sup>1</sup> I suppose this is a misprint, though it occurs not only in the text, but twice in the subjoined note.

tion must be the same, and γαμηθῆναι ἔχει after ἐπέτρεψε is scarcely intelligible.

None of the emendations hitherto proposed can be deemed satisfactory. I would therefore read thus:

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνδρoι εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία γε ἔτι καίοντο αἱ ἐν ἀξίᾳ, τὴν εὐτῶν ἀξίαν ἦν μὴ βούλονται καθαιρεῖν διὰ τοῦ νομίμως γαμηθῆναι, ἔχειν ἓνα ὃν ἂν αἰρήσωνται σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκέτην, εἴτε δοῦλον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς μὴ νόμφ γεγαμημένην.

“For to women also he gave permission, that if such as were of illustrious rank were husbandless, and not yet past the age of youthful desire, (in case they should not be willing to lower their own rank by lawful marriage) they might have any one man whom they should choose as partner of their bed, whether slave or free, and that the woman should regard him as her husband though not lawfully married.”

G. CURREY.

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### *Dr Gaisford.*

“THE University of Oxford has sustained a very heavy loss in the unexpected death of the Dean of Christ Church; for although he had attained the ripe age of seventy-five, and had been suffering from serious illness for some months, yet, as his powerful mind retained its vigour to the last, and only those immediately around him were aware of the weakness to which his bodily frame had been reduced, his death took the greater part of the University quite by surprise.

Dr Gaisford was allowed by common consent, for many years past, to rank as *the* first Greek scholar in Europe; and this rank was cheerfully granted to him even by those learned Germans who might have been supposed to have disputed the claim with him, such as Hermann, and Bekker, and Dindorf.

The monuments of industry and scholarship which he has left behind him, are such as few other men have been able to boast of, even in those days when there are said to have been giants in the land, compared with the generality of modern pigmies. Such works as his editions of Suidas and the “*Etymologicon Magnum*,” might well have been considered the labour of a life, yet they were hardly more than the tenth part of his works. For nearly fifty years he devoted himself to the preparation of Greek works for the press, and every work which he touched bore marks of his sound sense and accurate scholarship. Nor was his store of information confined to classical studies. He was



remarkably well read and well-informed in many other subjects also; such as history, both ancient and modern; the civil law, and various branches of theology, more especially the fathers of the Church. His earliest publications were some plays of Euripides, for the use of Westminster School, in 1806-7. About the same time he also published a Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of D'Orville, and in 1812 of those collected by Dr Clarke. In 1807 he revised an edition of "*Cicero de Oratore*," also as a school-book. In 1810 he published his edition of *Hephæstion on the Metres*, which first established his European reputation as a scholar; in 1814-20 his edition of the Greek Minor Poets, which added to his fame. In 1820 he published the "*Lectiones Platonice*," from MSS. in the Bodleian, and his edition of the "*Rhetoric of Aristotle*," with *variorum* notes, which is still the best edition of that work. These were speedily followed by the "*Florilegium*" of Stobæus, 1822, completed in 1850 by the "*Eclogæ*" of the same author. In 1824 his *Herodotus*, which forms the basis of all subsequent editions; in 1826 his *Sophocles*, which was for many years considered as the best edition of that author, although since superseded by the researches of his friend Professor Dindorf, one equally indefatigable with himself in the investigation of Greek manuscripts; in 1834 his great work, the Greek Lexicon of Suidas, followed, after an interval of fourteen years, in 1848, by the "*Etymologicon Magnum*." The value of these two works for the accurate study of the Greek language is universally acknowledged. He had previously assisted his friend, Dr Henry Cotton, in the preparation of a new edition of the Greek Lexicon of Scapula, published in 1820. In the intervals between his larger works he had published several smaller ones, as in 1836, a collection of Greek Proverbs, "*Parœmiographi Græci*," and in 1837 "*Scriptores Latini Rei Metricæ*."

Although he has not been eminently a divine, it is due to his memory to take some notice of the services he has rendered to theology. A Professor of Greek who does his work well in any sense, cannot but confer an important benefit on that study, by promoting good and accurate scholarship in the language which conveys to us the latest and most perfect records of divine revelation. But besides this general utility of the branch of learning in which he excelled, and which he powerfully promoted both in the University and in the House over which he presided more than twenty years, there is a value in his especial labours which few, very few, men could have embodied in the same work. Lexicography, and especially that kind which he cultivated, demands a range of reading and stores of memory such as few can achieve, if they would, and fewer still have the will to undergo the labour of achieving. And the editing of ancient Lexicons is a work of great importance, as affording in such hands "support not treacherous" to the expounder of Holy Writ and the student of patristic literature.

Under this head must be placed the edition of "*Georgius Chæroboscus on the (grammatical) Canons of Theodosius*," from MSS.; and of

his "Epimerismi" on the Psalms, which are a kind of dissection of the Greek text of the Psalms, for grammatical and etymological purposes, in the form of catechetical lessons.

"What kind of noun is *blessed*? An adjective. Define an adjective. That which is added to proper names or appellatives," &c.

None but a student of the language in itself would have chosen to undertake such a work, and none but a scholar of rare attainments could have done it so well. The conjectural emendations, inserted in the most unpretending way, are a witness at once to the knowledge, the ingenuity, and the diligence of the editor.

The edition of the Septuagint, Oxford, 1848, was an occasional work, to supply an immediate necessity. It was desirable to have a cheap and portable edition, and Dr Gaisford did good service by undertaking it. The "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1854 contains some articles in attack and defence of this edition, of which the upshot is, that a new critical edition is certainly much wanted, but that the labour of producing it would occupy a good part of the life of an accomplished scholar. Some of the imputed deficiencies in what was actually done, are accounted for by the strictness (itself characteristic of a first-rate scholar) with which the editor adhered to his profession of giving the text from certain sources; others are found not in fact to exist. This is the first English edition which has given the genuine LXX. text of the book of Daniel, published at Rome in the last century.

The Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret had been well edited by Reading, after Valesius, but it was only to be had as a part of the body of ecclesiastical historians, or in the works of Theodoret. Dr Gaisford's edition, 1854, fills up a gap in the work of the Oxford Press, which had hitherto omitted Theodoret among its reprints of the historians. It is corrected with the help of additional collations, and has some additional matter in the *variorum* notes.

The "Græcarum Affectionum Curatio," 1836, deserves a good place among the ancient defences of Christianity. It is an elaborate comparison of Christian literature, theology, cosmogony, philosophy, ritual, legislation, prophecy, and morals, with all that heathenism could produce. If Oxford students had a little more leisure, they would find his work a very interesting accompaniment to the study of Plato, and many other authors, whom Theodoret quotes as the living literature of his own nation. He refers to upwards of seventy writers, and gives frequent extracts. This work was edited in 1839, with a careful revision of the text, which is corrected from MSS. and other sources.

The "Præparatio Evangelica" of Eusebius, 1843, is a book something of the same character, shewing the like universal reading, but less keenness of thought and conciseness of expression. The author calls for a candid consideration of Christianity and its evidences, and then proceeds to discuss the various heathen traditions of theology, of the origin of the world, of the doctrine of demons,—which is treated at great length,—of the oracles, &c. Then the Mosaic doctrine of creation is

compared with these fables, the Jewish philosophy is traced down to later times, and it is shewn that Plato and others learned much from it, while Aristotle and others rejected some of its truths. The laws and institutions of the Jews are contrasted with those of the heathen, and various opinions with respect to fate, providence, free-will, &c., discussed, with reference to many authors of various nations, from whom large extracts are given. Here there was much work for an editor, and work that required an editor of extensive reading, and well-versed in Greek of every age, from Homer to Constantine. The best MSS. were collated, and the text brought into nearly as good a state as we can expect to have it.

The "*Demonstratio Evangelica*," 1852, is the sequel to the former, intended to establish the truth of Christianity, for the instruction and satisfaction of a mind already prepared and predisposed for it. After a general introduction on the nature of Christianity, and on its received authorities, the prophecies are alleged as affording an irresistible evidence of its truth; the coming of Christ, the calling of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews, save a remnant, are shewn to be clearly foretold. The life of our blessed Lord is then more fully examined, and likewise the Christian doctrine regarding His Person; and the prophets are alleged on both subjects in the course of several books. Ten only are extant out of twenty, and of these there are not MSS. enough to afford a good text. They were edited, however, by Dr Gaisford, in 1852, in such a manner as the materials allowed.

The work of Eusebius against Hierocles, edited by Dr Gaisford, in 1852, was written in answer to a comparison instituted by Hierocles, of the miracles of Apollonius Tyaneus, recorded by Philostratus, with those of our Saviour.

The two books of Eusebius against Marcellus of Ancyra, and the three on the Church's Theology, in the same volume, are on the doctrines of the Divinity and Incarnation of our Lord, and are of considerable historical importance, as illustrating the prevalent views of doctrine and of Scriptural interpretation at that time. Marcellus is accused of denying the hypostatic union in Christ; and of obscuring, if not rejecting, that of the Divine Personality. Eusebius comes nearer in this work to the orthodox doctrine than in his letter in defence of the Nicene Creed, but some of his phrases are still ambiguous. His writings, however, represent the line of thought followed by many of his contemporaries. His fairness towards Marcellus is questioned; but those who wish to trace out the Arian controversy thoroughly, should read him.

The "*Eclogæ Propheticae*" of the same author, printed in 1842 for the first time, from a Vienna MS., is a collection of prophecies from the Old Testament, with a commentary explaining them. It is valuable, both as indicating the received exposition of many passages, and as a record of the manner in which the study of Holy Scripture was cultivated in that age.



Thus no small contribution has been made to directly theological literature by the labours of this indefatigable scholar. And those who have given their attention to such studies, will know that the work of such a man gives them an amount of comfort and confidence in reading, which it is not easy to estimate, and saves many an hour of hopeless labour, many a mistaken inference, and many a fruitless enquiry. That he was more of the scholar than of the divine is no reproach to a Professor of Greek; but we believe that he must have left behind him some specimens of sacred criticism, founded on his own knowledge and research, which may be worth the attention of future students. Criticism must ever be the useful handmaid of theology, and the opinion of Dr Gaisford can hardly cease to carry weight in criticism while Greek is read.

To his advice and influence we are also indebted for many other valuable works, which have been reprinted at the University Press. Amongst others, we may mention the series of works on English History, chiefly about the period of the Great Rebellion. Nor must it be forgotten that to his sound judgment in the selection of clever men of business for the managing partners of the Bible department, and his steady support of their plans after they were appointed, the University is mainly indebted for the flourishing state of that establishment, and the large sum which has been realized from its profits. We believe that at the time Dr Gaisford was first appointed a Delegate of the Press, it did not pay its expenses, was in debt, and was an annual loss to the University, as that of Cambridge still is, or was very recently. Before many years had passed, the property became sufficiently large to enable the University to build their new printing-house out of the money which had been accumulated for that purpose; and afterwards the Delegates were able to pay over to the University chest a further large sum; and it still produces a considerable annual profit, which it is to be hoped it may long continue to do. But, as the Warden of Wadham lately pointed out, this depends on the continuance of the privilege for printing Bibles and Prayer-books, and the University will do wisely not to reckon too much upon it as a permanent source of income. Should any change take place, we shall not easily find a second Dr Gaisford to adapt the working of so large a business to the altered circumstances. It will be seen, by what has been related, that Dr Gaisford was not only a first-rate scholar, but a man of rare abilities and excellent judgment, and qualified by uncommon powers for the many and important duties which he so conscientiously fulfilled.

Dr Gaisford was born on the 22nd of December, 1779, at Iford, in Wiltshire. He was the eldest son of John Gaisford, Esq., of that place, and after his father's death inherited the family estate. He was educated at Hyde Abbey School, Winchester; was entered as a Commoner at Christ Church in 1797, and elected a Student in 1800, by Dr Cyril Jackson, who was then Dean; proceeded B.A. in 1801, and M.A. in 1804; was one of the Public Examiners in 1809-10, and was

appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1811. He succeeded to the College living of Westwell, near Burford, Oxfordshire, in 1815, which he resigned in 1847; was appointed successively to prebends at Worcester, at St Paul's, at Llandaff, and at Durham, which last he exchanged in 1831, with Dr Smith, for the Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, whereupon the degrees of B.D. and D.D. were conferred upon him by diploma. He always took a very active part in the government of his College, and of the University as a leading member of the Hebdomadal Board, and was by no means the recluse which his extraordinary learning might lead people to expect. He was habitually an early riser, and devoted a certain number of hours daily to his literary employments, but did not allow these to interfere with the performance of his other duties. His strictness in adhering to rules once laid down may have sometimes been excessive, but the firmness of his government was not untempered with kindly feelings, when he saw the right occasion for their exercise. He was a kind patron of merit, and the valued friend of many who really knew him<sup>1</sup>.—*From the "Literary Churchman."* Oxford, J. H. Parker. (June 16, 1855).

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### *Review.*

*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete des Deutschen, Griechischen und Lateinischen herausgegeben von Dr Adalbert Kuhn. Vierter Band. Berlin, 1855.*

THE last part of the fourth volume of this Journal has just reached us, and we think that we shall be doing a service to those of our readers, who are engaged in the study of comparative philology, if we endeavour to characterize a contemporary periodical, which, aiming at objects somewhat different from our own, has nevertheless so much in common with us, as to invite our attention and to engage our sympathy.

<sup>1</sup> In the "Oxford Herald" of June the 9th, a chronological list of Dr Gaisford's works is given, which is generally accurate; but a few of the works there mentioned appear to be erroneously attributed to him: thus, in 1821, "Homeri Ilias;" 1822, "Heynii Excursus;" 1827, "Homeri Odyssea;" 1821, the concluding volume of Wyttenbach's

edition of "Plutarch." In 1830, Dr Gaisford prepared for the press Dr Wyttenbach's Index to his Plutarch, which that accomplished German scholar had left unfinished.

It is hopeless to attempt to correct the errors of the memoir of Dr Gaisford in the "Athenæum."

This Journal of Comparative Philology was started in 1852, by Dr Theodor Aufrecht, in conjunction with its present editor. The former, who had gained some repute by his share in another joint-labour,—the publication of a treatise on the Umbrian inscriptions, which he undertook with the co-operation of Dr A. Kirchhof (*Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler*, 1849),—has recently been summoned to Oxford to assist his countryman Dr Max Müller in the labours of Vaidic editorship, and has contributed a paper to the second English edition of Bunsen's *Hippolytus*. Dr Kuhn has been known for some years as a Sanscrit philologist of the Bopp school. His first publication, we believe, was a Latin essay *de Conjugatione in -μ Linguae Sanscritae ratione habita*, affectionately dedicated to Bopp (*Berolini*, 1837). He is therefore a philologist of some experience, and we think that his own contributions to the journal before us are among the best which it contains. But he is well supported, for his list of writers contains the names of J. Grimm, Bopp, Pott, Massmann, Benary, Benfey, Steinthal, and others well known in Germany, and not unknown in England.

We propose to test by a few specimens the last volume, which is now before us. But we must begin with some remarks on the general style of comparative philology now in favour with those of the Germans, whose views are represented by this Journal.

It is to be observed that most of these writers have a tendency to find Sanscrit everywhere. While the older scholars surrounded Greece and Italy, or rather blocked them out from the rest of Europe, and from the world of barbarians, by a sort of Chinese wall, these new philologists seem determined to allow the classical languages no independent developement, but to make them only the faint echoes of the more distinct utterances which were heard on the banks of the Ganges. If the former course was a *delictum*,—a fault of omission,—the procedure of these Germans is certainly an *error*, or wild wandering on the part of the ingenious and learned among them, while it leads to the *peccatum*, or stupid blunder on the part of those, who are neither clear nor profound: and such persons exist in Germany no less than in England. We have a striking example of this extravagance in a short note by Dr Kuhn himself (p. 400), where we are gravely told that not only is the Theban Ἑπεοκλῆς the same name as *Satyáçravas*, one of the authors of the



Rigvêda, but that as the latter is called the offspring of *Vayya*, and as it would not be impossible to connect *Vayya* with *Δαῖος*, by an interchange of *v* and *l*, there might be some mythical connexion between the two personages!! If this is not both an absurd and an unprofitable speculation, there must be full justification for any amount of similar shots in the dark with a philological revolver, in the hope of bringing down some possible game. Only suppose that some Englishman, as *kühn* as Dr *Kuhn*, was induced to attempt the same sort of conjecture in some less devious track of history. What would our countrymen say to him? We know at least what was thought of the Frenchman who supposed that the bust of Dr Barrow in the Trinity Library was a delicate tribute to his then popular countryman Odillon Barrot; and if any one were to ransack Pott's book on proper names (*die Personennamen insbesondere die Familiennamen und ihre Entstehungsarten*) for the sake of finding synonymous designations of persons, and founding conclusions upon them—even though he did not play any tricks with the forms of the words themselves, by converting *v* into *l*, or making any other substitutions—it would be inferred, in this country at least, that he was either unconsciously stultifying himself or intentionally sporting with the credulity of others. Yet this is constantly the practice of German Sanscritists; it seems that, to them, as to painters and poets—

Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas—

and the instance we have cited is only one of many to be found in this Journal. See especially Kuhn's article on the primeval history of the Indo-Germanic tribes (pp. 81—123), and Pott's attempt to identify *Βελλερόφων* and *Vṛtrahân* (pp. 416—440).

It must not however be supposed that this tendency qualifies all the investigations contained in the volume before us. On the contrary, there is a great deal of sound learning, and many ingenious suggestions resting on the solid basis of scientific philology. For example, the first paper, (Kuhn, *über das alte S. und einige damit verbundene Lautentwicklungen*, p. 1—46), which is the sixth article on that subject, contains, like those in the previous volumes, of which it is a continuation, a great deal of valuable matter, and is well worth reading. Of these and the other longer papers we cannot give an adequate idea by means

of extracts; but we will examine one or two of the shorter essays, pointing out their merits and defects.

As a first specimen we will take Kuhn's paper on "*pfad*, *πάτος*, *πόντος*, *pons*, *pontifex*," (pp. 73—77). We have here, of course, a sufficient recognition of what has been said on the subject by Grimm, Bopp, and Benfey. Setting aside Grimm's objection to the analogy, on the ground that the usual interchange of the mutes has not taken place, and adopting Bopp's and Benfey's comparison of *pfad* and *πάτος* with *patha* and *pathin* under the form *panthas*, and with *pons*, and the Slavonic *ponti*, Kuhn maintains that the Vaidic *pâthas*, Sanscrit *panthan*, *pathin*, *πάτος* and *pfad* are identical words, and compares with them the Latin *pons*, the low German *pad* or *pad-steg* "the foot bridge," and the Greek *πόντος*, which, as he infers confidently from such phrases as *θάλασσα πόντου*, and *πόντος ἀλὸς πολίης*, cannot mean the sea as such, but must denote the *Wogen-pfade*, or path over the waves. That *pons* must have signified "a path," and specially the *Himmelspfad* or road to heaven, Kuhn further infers from the word *pontifex*. For as the Vaidic *pâthas* = *panthas* denotes the path by which the sacrifice ascends to heaven, the *pontifex* is the *Pfadbereiter* or path-maker for prayer and offerings. And this view is confirmed, he thinks, by the compound *pathikrt*, which means *path-maker*, and is used in the *Vêdas* as an epithet of *Brhaspati*.

Now here we have a great deal of plausible reasoning and some truth; but the etymologies of *πόντος*, *pons*, and *pontifex*, are all missed, because the German etymologist is determined to hunt in obsolete Sanscrit for that which lies on the surface of the Greek and Latin languages.

The philological facts are as certain as they are satisfactory. The verbs *pat-eo* "to leave an open path," *pet-o* (originally *pet-io*), "to traverse an open path," *pat-ior*, "to be traversed by an open path, to be trampled on, to suffer," contain the same root, and convey the same idea. The last of these words connects itself at once with the Greek *πάσχω* = *πάθ-σκω*, and this, as we have pointed out (*New Cratylus*, § 114), and as Kuhn is aware, was originally *πένθ-σκω*. This appearance of the nasal in the root *πάθος* would create a difficulty, if there were not analogies in favour of the same phenomenon in the root of *πάτος*; and it is clear that the Sanscrit *pathin* and *panthan* are the same

word, in the sense of *πάρος*, and that the Russian *pútj* "a way," bears the same relation to the old Slavonic *ponti*, that *golūbj* does to *columba*, *rūka* "a hand," to the Lithuanian *ranka*, and *gūs* "a goose," to the Sanscrit *hansa* and our *gander*, to say nothing of *anser* and *χήν* (see Bopp, *Vergl. Gramm.* p. 336, cf. p. 147).

But here the comparison must stop. For it is clear that *pons*, originally *pos* (Varro, *L. L. V.* 1, p. 3, Müller), denoted, like *γέφυρα*, a mass of stones or earth thrown into the stream, in order to make a passage across it. The cognate words *pondus* (cf. *fons*, *fundus*), *s-ponte*, "by the natural weight or inclination," *po-ne*, *po-no* = *po-sino*, *po-st*, all convey the idea of weight, or tendency to the bottom. And with reference to the same root, we have explained the word *pontifex*, the mediating priest, who settled the atonement by the imposition of a fine, i. e. a certain weight of copper, as opposed to the *carnifex*, who took satisfaction on the body of the delinquent (*New Cratylus*, p. 470, § 295). The word *πόντος* belongs to a modification of the same root, and denotes a large mass of water, as distinguished from the *æquor* and *πέλαγος*, which indicate the expanse or surface of the open sea, (*Varronianus*, p. 419, 2nd. ed.)

The next example shall be the analysis of *interpres* briefly proposed by G. Curtius (p. 237). He says: "people generally compare this word with *pretium*, without inquiring much after the root. But *pretium* refers itself to the Greek *πιπράσκω*. At first sight then *inter-pre-t* means a negociator (*unterhändler*) with an accessory *t* (*man-sue-t*, *locu-ple-t*, *præ-sti-t*); but the signification of the word suggests a more intellectual meaning, especially if we take into consideration the derived *inter-pretari*. We get a root for this in the Lithuanian *prat*, 'to understand,' whence come *prant-u*, *su-prant-u* ('I remark,' 'observe'), the subst. *protas* ('understanding'), manifestly connected with the Gothic *frath-s* ('understanding'), *frathjan* ('to understand'), together with *frod-s* ('sagacious'), *frodei* ('sagacity')." It would be difficult to express fully our sense of the worthlessness of this suggestion—excepting always the first sentence. Whether the censure implied in that sentence is true as regards the German philologists in general, we do not stay to inquire. It is evident that the non-investigation of the root is not remedied by the suggestion about the "accessory *t*," or by the comparison with words



involving a secondary and complex idea. Most English philologists will perhaps agree with us that the truth, which lies not very far from the surface, was suggested three years ago in the following passage: "*Interpret[a]or* comes from *interpre[t]s*, a word which, like *pretium*, involves the preposition *per* and the verb *i-*, 'to go;' so that *pretium* means 'that which changes hands' (cf. *πέρ-νῆμι*, *πρ-ᾱσις*, *πρ-ῖαμαι*, &c.); and *inter-pr-i-t-s* is 'one who goes between two parties in making a bargain, or serves as the medium of communication in any way' (cf. *paries*, *New Crat.* § 178)." (*Varron.* p. 420, 2nd ed.) There is another word belonging to the same class as *pretium*, and admitting a similar analysis, which has not yet been explained. That *vitium*, in its proper meaning, denotes that which is or ought to be shunned, is well known to all Latin scholars. It signifies not only moral vice, but all inconsistencies and deformities, from which the eye shrinks, or by which the better tastes and feelings are revolted. Thus Cicero says (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 13), "*vitium* appellant, quum partes corporis inter se dissident;" and Ovid even uses the word to signify the shock occasioned by nudity (*Fast.* iv. 148), for no blemish is implied in the words themselves, or in the context:

Accipit ille locus posito velamine cunctas,

Et *vitium* nudi corporis omne videt.

There cannot be any doubt then, that *vitium* is connected with *vĕto*, "to warn off," and *vĭto*, "to avoid," which bear a relation not unlike, though somewhat converse, to that of *cado*, *cædo*, "fall" and "fell;" and which must involve the preposition *re* or *vehe* (*ve-stĭbulum*, *παρα-στάς*, *in-ve-stigo*, *παρα-στειχω*, *ve-cors*, *παρά-φρων*, &c.), and the frequentative of *i-*, "to go;" so that *veto* will signify "I keep causing to go away, i.e. I warn off," and *vito*, "I keep going away, i.e. I shun." Most of the nouns in *-es*, *-itis*, which form a regular basis for verbs in *-ito* (*miles*, *milito*; *interpre*, *interpretor*, &c.), admit of an easy explanation. There is some difficulty at first sight about *dives*; when, however, we recollect that *divum* ("*id est cælum*," Varro. *L. L.* V. § 66) is a common term for the sky in such phrases as *sub divo*, or *sub dio*, we shall see that Pott was quite right when he compared *dives* with *cæles* (*Etymologische Forschungen*, I. p. 101). He was not right, however, when he explained the adjective as meaning either "going in heaven," or "going among the Gods." As distinguished from *cælum*, we learn from the phrases *sub divo*, &c. that *divum* means

the open air, the broad day-light, &c.; and a man might be *dives*, or walking in the *divum*; without leaving the surface of the earth. As therefore *felix* and *faustus* are obviously connected with *φάος* (*New Crat.* § 152), and as *beatus* is probably to be referred to *φανρός*, it would be best to explain *dives*, "he that goeth in brightness," by an idea similar to that which is involved in *clarus*, *illustris*, &c. As an epithet of the infernal god, *dives* or *dis* is to be explained, with Cicero, by a reference to the fact, that the earth is the store-house of mineral treasures. "Terrena vis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est: qui *Dives*, ut apud Græcos Πλούτων; quia et recidunt omnia in terras et oriantur e terris" (*de Natura Deorum*, II. 26, § 66). This being so obvious, what can surpass the absurdity of Mr Key's proposal that *dives* comes from *bigæ* (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1854, p. 27)? The two words certainly have the advantage of a long *i* in common, but as both the consonants in each belong to different orders respectively, it would certainly require not a little evidence from without to seek an identity under such a total and absolute diversity of form. Mr Key's only reason for such an unnatural effort is the following: "the poor man of necessity trudges on foot (*pedes*); the man of better means has his horse (*eques*); but the rich are often defined among ourselves as the carriage-folk, and so we endeavour to find in the first element of *dives* an equivalent for our word carriage."!! Mr Key seems not to be aware that the Roman *eques* had his horse exclusively for military purposes—not to take a constitutional ride, but to ride *pro aris et focis*—and that the *Campus Martius* was not a sort of Hyde Park in which the rich took their airing in *bigæ*. Mr Carlyle is very merry about the case of the felon Probart, who was defined as "a respectable man," because he "kept a gig;" and Lord Bateman, in the ballad, consoles the mother of his divorced bride by the assurance:

"She came unto my house on horseback;  
She shall go back in a coach-and-three."

But who ever heard of "gig or coach-and-three respectability" among the Romans? And who does not understand the exceptional nature of the case of the *pilentis mætres in mollibus* (Virg. *Æn.* VIII. 666)? The fact is, that the Romans never took carriage-drives except in travelling, and then, as Juvenal says (III. 10):

Tota domus rheda componitur una.

No one, who is moderately acquainted with the usages of the ancient Romans, can be ignorant of the fact, that if they had ever taken their idea of riches from the name of a carriage, they would have referred to the *carpentum* (cf. Liv. I. 34, v. 25), and not to the *biga* or *bigæ*, which is a poetical and secondary word.

We will conclude with one or two specimens from Ebel's paper on *lateinische Wort- und Formdeutungen* (pp. 441—451). The words and forms on which he attempts to say something new are (1) *signum*, (2) *temptare*, (3) *fretum*, (4) *augustus*, *augur*, *auctor*, (5) *posco*, *postulo*, (6) *mando*, (7) *pedo*, *pestis*, (8) *pious*, (9) *cura*, (10) *re*, (11) *religio*, (12) *scabi*, (13) *uxor*, (14) *vacca*. Of these notices three only, (5), (8), and (13), deserve criticism. The others will not bear or do not require a moment's examination. Who for instance, would suppose that *signum* was for *stignum*, when we have not only the diminutive *sigillum*, but the usual interchange of dental and sibilant in the German analogies, Goth. *taikns*, Swed. *tekn*, A. S. *tacn*, Engl. *token*, N. H. G. *zeichen*, to say nothing of the Greek τέκμαρ and τεκμήριον? And what good Latin scholar is there now who doubts that Cicero was right in deriving *religio* (11) from *religare* (see Varron. pp. 407—409), and not, as Ebel does, from *religare*? But Ebel's remarks on *posco*, *pious*, *uxor* shall be briefly tested, as specimens of German philology.

It seems to us that Ebel is quite right in demurring to the opinion, first started by Bopp, and now generally adopted by German philologers, that *posco* and its derivative *postulo*, are to be connected with an original *procscō*. He is also right, we think, in reviving the old suggestion that *posco* is to be compared with *forscōn* O. H. G., *forschen* N. H. G. But he is wrong in his philological grounds for these right conclusions. In the first place, there is no reason why an *r* might not be omitted after an initial mute. On the contrary, it is by no means an uncommon phenomenon. Thus the name of *Cam-bridge* was originally *Grantanbrycge* shortened into *Grambridge*, and many persons speak of *Febuary* instead of *February*. The really valid objections to the derivation are these: (a) there is no reason why the *r* should be omitted, for there is no *r* to clash with it in the second syllable, and the root is preserved under the forms *prec-* or *proc-* in many Latin words; (b) the analogy of *doceo*, *disco* would lead us to expect *proceo*, *prisco*, and there is no reason therefore for the retention of the *o*; (c) the inchoative affix *-sco*



has no meaning here; (d) if the verb were inchoative, as the form is not secondary like *compesco*, *compescui*, the perfect would be *popoci*, not, as is the case, *poposci* or *peposci* (Valerius Antias, *ap. Gell.* vii. 9). Then, again, Ebel is not right in supposing that *forscôn*, *forschen* is from *parsk*, an accessory form of the root of *procus*, *precor*. It seems much more reasonable to connect it with the prepositional adverb *fora* (O. H. G.), which appears in Latin and Greek under the forms *porro*, *πὸρρῶ* or *πόρρω*, so that *posco*, originally *porseo*, means "to get farther forward, to advance in inquiry, to press on in question or intreaty."

Because Ebel cannot adopt the proposed connexion of *pūs* with the Sanscrit *prīya*, "beloved," "dear," he has no better alternative than to propose that *ἥπιος* is a compound of *pūs* and the prefix *ἥ*!! As he compares *ἡβαύς* with *βαύς*, we cannot help recollecting the converse absurdity of Mr Fox Talbot's explanation of the phrase *οὐδ' ἡβαύον*, as signifying "not a jot," "not a little I," from which he concludes that Homer was familiar with the alphabet (*Hermes* i. p. 13). The etymology of *pūs*, in Umbrian *pihus*, is extremely interesting, as furnishing an illustration of an important principle in the philosophy of language, to which we first called attention some seventeen years ago (*New Cratylus*, § 53), namely, that the association by contrast exhibits itself in language, and that words, containing the same or slightly modified roots, may bear contrasted significations. An excellent illustration of this principle was given by J. Grimm in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for 1839, third part, pp. 747 sqq. "Abstammung des Wortes Sünde," in which he shows that this word involves the ideas of both sin and atonement\*. In this paper, Grimm suggests that the verb *pecco* may perhaps be connected with *pūs*. In this suggestion we do not concur, but rather agree to the more common opinion that *pecco* is connected with *pecus*, and means "to commit a stupid fault." But we are convinced that the root of *pūs*, which appears as *pu* or *pi*, originally *puh*, or *pih*, contains the contrasted significations of purity and defilement,—the former in the words *pūs*, *piare*, *putus*, *putare* ("to clean by pruning," *putzen*, cf. *castigo*), *pūrus*, *purgare*; the latter in *pus* (*pūr*-), *putris*, *pūtere*. We have in obsolete

\* To prevent any mistake it may be as well to mention that a copy of the *New Cratylus* was sent to Grimm in

February 1839, and that his paper in illustration of the principle appeared in the October of the same year.

Latin *piago* = ἀγρίζω (Gl. Labb.), cf. *purgo*; and *nepus* = *non purus* (Fest. p. 165), cf. *impius*. For the *r* in *pus* and *purus*, cf. *cla-rus*, *glo-ria*, &c. with *inclitus*, &c.

In his explanation of *uxor*, Ebel rightly compares the termination with that of *soror* = *sosor*. As the only feminines in *-or*, *-ōris*, and as words of similar application, they are obviously formed on the same principle. Accordingly, the common termination *-sor* must represent that of the O. N. *syster*, A. S. *suster*, Goth. *svistar*, Slav. *sestra*, Dutch *suster*, Engl. *sister*, N. H. G. *schwester*, namely *-ster*, which is the same as the Sanscrit *strī*, "a woman," and appears in a great number of English words denoting female occupations. Now *soror* = *so-sor* = *swa-strī* means "fœmina cognata." And the analogous meaning of *uxor* = *ug-strī* should be *fœmina conjuncta*. This analogy is interfered with by Ebel's suggestion that *uxor* = *veh-stor* with an active meaning. If, on the other hand, we connect the first syllable *uc* or *ug* with *jug-um*, the form is justified by the N. H. G. *joch*, Sax. *juc*, Engl. *yoke*, and perhaps also by the Sanscrit *uksha*, Goth. *auhsa*, O. N. *uxe*, N. H. G. *öchs*, Engl. *ox*, as denoting the *jumentum* or beast of burthen, unless these words belong, as is generally supposed, to the root of *veho*, like *vacca*. Thus *uxor*, like *conjux*, will denote "the yoke-fellow," with this difference, that its affix will confine it to the feminine gender.

These specimens of the etymological procedure of Dr Kuhn and two of his most regular coadjutors, will enable the reader to see that with all their learning and ingenuity, German philologists are deficient in scientific exactness and solidity. The vague and crude speculations in which they indulge are partly due to the want of definite principles and a fixed ethnographic basis. Besides, the mere study of Sanscrit and German, even with the guidance of Bopp and Grimm, does not impart the critical faculty and the etymological instinct. *Non cuivis hominum contingit adire Corinthum*. And in this, as in other departments, there are too many aspirants in Germany, too many bearers of the *narthex*, and very few participators in the genuine spirit of philology.

J. W. DONALDSON.

### Notices of New Books.

M. TULLII CICERONIS ORATIONES *with a Commentary by* GEORGE LONG.  
Vol. II. London: Whittaker and Co., Ave Maria Lane; George Bell, Fleet Street, 1855.

[THIS volume labours under the same defects and is recommended by the same good qualities, as Mr Long's edition of the Verrine orations. To begin with our objections. Mr Long seems to have little conception of the amount of reading and of patience which is required to master an ancient author. He does not even always provide himself with the best commentaries on the very speeches which he edits; e. g. Jordan's edition of the speech *pro A. Cæcina* has escaped him. He appears to consult no lexicon but Forcellini's, and that but seldom; peculiarities which are explained in every grammar are to him insuperable difficulties. But this negligence might pass as certainly not unprecedented; we cannot however excuse the great blemish of both volumes, that flippant censoriousness which fills note after note with jokes at the expense of scholars long since in their graves. Nowhere is the golden rule, *Choose the good, and refuse the evil*, more needful than in adapting the labours of earlier editors. Their notes should be looked upon as a mine from which many fragments of ore may be dug; but all dross should be cleared away before use. Mr Long however seems to have a fancy for the dross. He is never tired of *worrying* an error, real or supposed, which he has met with in poor Hotmann. See for instance the tedious pleasantries about dogs and geese in page 73. For the sake of the enterprising publishers, of Mr Long's coadjutors, and of common decency, we must protest against this folly. There are other victims however. Klotz, a man who has done far more than Mr Long for Latin scholarship, is cut short with the courteous rebuff: "I suspect that he is not telling the truth." p. 62. One or two examples taken from the speech *pro Rosc. Amer.* will suffice to indicate the grounds on which this part of our judgement rests.

C. 7. p. 62. "*Quatriduo quo hæc gesta sunt.*" This expression should be clearly understood. It is no doubt elliptical, and the meaning might be mistaken. It means 'within four days after this happened'." There is surely no more difficulty in the expression than in *die quo hæc gesta sunt.*

C. 22. p. 75. "I don't clearly understand the passage 'restituere, &c.' Ernesti supposes Cicero to be speaking ironically. He treats Erucius as a fool." Nothing can be easier (even without Manutius' help) than the words: "*Restitue nobis aliquando veterem tuam illam calliditatem atque prudentiam: confitere huc ea spe venisse quod putares hic latrocinium, non judicium futurum.*" Erucius has damaged his reputation for cunning by his mode of conducting the case: let him retrieve it by the confession that he came into court hoping to find a corrupt instead



of an upright bench. Thus he may again take rank as a knave rather than as a fool. For no one can deny that his plans were well laid, on the supposition that the jurors were rogues. This is plain enough; but the student might fail to notice the omission of the pronoun before *venisse*; this should have been discussed.

Once more, c. 22. p. 76. "*Ut, propter quos hanc suavissimam lucem aspexerit, eos indignissime luce privarit.*" If this is right, it [*propter quos*] means the same as 'per quos.'" That it is right Mr Long might have learnt from the examples in the lexicons or in Hand, nay from Matthiæ's note on this passage, but Mr Long is not acquainted with Matthiæ; that *propter* can mean the same as *per* there is no reason to believe; *propter* here denotes rather the occasion (like *παρά*) than either the end or the means. Translate to *whom he owed* his entrance into this world. *Per* denotes more active instrumentality.

If Mr Long would make his commentary of practical service to beginners, and discard querulous small talk, he must devote some time to the study of the great modern scholars, such as Madvig and Lachmann. If he will do this, he will add grammatical exactness to the merits which, even as it is, raise his commentary far above the level of our popular compilations "for the use of schools." These merits are, an entire freedom from pedantry, a hearty appreciation of the excellence of unfashionable writers (such as Plutarch and Columella), a quick eye to discern the lessons which the past may read to the present, a bold criticism of our national prejudices and failings, and a wide and healthy sympathy with greatness of every kind. His legal and political studies enable him to take a statesmanlike view of law society and government, which reminds us at times of Arnold's Thucydides. On the whole though we should hesitate to put this book into the hands of an unassisted student, we know few commentaries better calculated to stimulate a teacher who should be able to correct grammatical errors, and not too proud to learn from political experience and wisdom.]

J. E. B. M.

VINDICIÆ JUVENALIANÆ. [Auctore C. F. HERMANNO. Præmissæ Ind. Schol. Acad. Georg. Aug. semestr. æst. 1854. Göttingen, Dieterich.] D. JUNII JUVENALIS Satirarum libri v. Accedit SULPICIE Satira. Ex recognitione CAROLI FRIDERICI HERMANNI. Lipsiæ sumptibus et typis B. G. Teubneri. 1854.

[By his dissertation Professor Hermann has established a new claim upon the gratitude of the lovers of antiquity, and, if we may venture to say so, has proved himself to have acquired a firmer hold on the principles of Latin Grammar than was apparent in some of his earlier essays in the same or neighbouring fields of scholarship. Where he has deserted Jahn, he seems generally to have right on his side: *e.g.* in retaining *nullo* (iii. 94), *hæc* (iii. 218), *vittata* (iv. 9), *Acænonoëtus* (vii. 218). In the interesting preface to his Juvenal he stoutly asserts the accuracy of the Scholiasts who speak of the poet's military service in Scotland. For an inscription found at Aquinum, commemorates an offering

dedicated to (Helvina) Ceres by [D. Ju]nius Juvenalis [T]ri[b.] Coh.[I.] Delmatarum Ilvir Quinq. Flamen Divi Vespasiani (Momms. Inscr. R. Neapol. n. 4312); and there is documentary evidence that the first cohort of Delmatians was in Britain A.D. 106. M. Hermann's conclusion may not follow necessarily from these premisses; but certainly they rest on a firmer basis than many unquestioned statements in history.

The study of Juvenal seems to be reviving on the continent; we gather from Otto Jahn's learned and thoughtful essay *Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten* (*Berichte der. kön. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Classe.* 17 Febr. 1855) that he will not long delay the publication of his commentary.

Not to leave our author ἀσύμβολοι, we may cite as a proof of his diligence in the schools of rhetoric (Sat. i. 15, 16) his employment (viii. 56 seq.) of a rhetorical commonplace thus given by Quintilian (v. 11, §§ 4, 5): "*Illa interrogatio talis; Quod est pomum generosissimum? Nonne quod optimum? concedetur. Quid equus? qui generosissimus? Nonne qui optimus? et plura in eundem modum. Deinde, cujus rei gratia rogatum est; Quid homo? nonne is generosissimus qui optimus? fatendum erit. &c.*" The meaning of *curabilis* (Sat. xvi. 21) has been much discussed: it seems to be fixed by the use of *vitabilis* in *Or. Epist.* iv. 14. 31, 32: "*Esset perpetuo sua quam vitabilis Ascera, Ausa est agricolæ vita docere senis.*"

J. E. B. M.

*The Greek Testament, with Notes Grammatical and Exegetical.* By W. WEBSTER, M.A. and W. F. WILKINSON, M.A. Vol. I. Gospels and Acts. 8vo. London, J. W. Parker. pp. xlvii. 710.

[THIS commentary is certainly superior to those generally placed in the hands of theological students in England, before the appearance of Mr Alford's edition. With this it has no claim whatever to be ranked, and can only hold its ground in so far as it addresses itself to a different class of students, who may not be prepared to deal with the momentous questions discussed in Mr Alford's notes. The editors "wish it to be distinctly understood, that their object has been to write for learners rather than the learned," (p. ii) and they have generally kept this end in view; but what percentage of "learners" is capable even of deciphering the Syriac words, with which they have freely garnished their commentary? Setting aside the proverbial connexion between the "unknown" and the "imposing," it is not easy to account for this intrusion.

The notes are brief and clearly expressed, and will doubtless be found useful under the limitations intimated above: but we have not discovered any instance in which the editors have given really original matter; nor have they availed themselves, as they might, of the labours of others. In short this edition falls far behind the advanced state of the New Testament criticism of the day. Such questions as the gift of tongues, for instance, and the diaconate, are passed over with a line or

two. How meagre again are their notes on "the god Remphan" (Acts vii 43), on the teaching of Simon Magus (viii. 9), on St Paul's visit to Arabia (ix. 23)! Why is there no mention of the various reading *Εὐρακύλων* for *Εὐροκλίδων* (Acts xxvii. 14), though so much may be said in its favour, and it has actually been adopted by Lachmann? These instances taken at random will shew how imperfect this commentary is. Indeed the editors seem to have underrated the amount of intelligence possessed by the educated laity, and to have been satisfied with too low a standard of knowledge in divinity students, (cf. pp. ii. iii.)]

J. B. L.

*The Second Epistle of Peter, the Epistles of John and Judas, and the Revelation: translated from the Greek, on the basis of the common English Version, with Notes.* New York: AMERICAN BIBLE UNION, 4to. London: Trubner & Co. 1854. pp. x. 253.

[In a fly-sheet, published under the sanction of the American Bible Union Society, and describing its objects, we find a correspondent writing to the Secretary in this strain; "After a quarter of a century's toil and labour, to have the Bible, without the vile Apocryphal books, introduced into our common schools, the Lord has in mercy given us our heart's desire." From the laudatory manner in which this correspondent is spoken of, and the grant of 4000 dollars made in answer to his appeal, there can be no doubt that he enjoys the Society's confidence. In another publication of the Society (Bible Union Reporter, June, 1855, 4, p. 177) the following passage from an English periodical is quoted with apparent satisfaction; "Only let the nations be supplied with the Word of God in its *purity* and *completeness*, and error and superstition cannot long survive. Pedobaptism (sic) that 'part and pillar of Popery' must die, and with it would expire one of the main supports of Anti-christ." Without wishing to depreciate the enthusiasm by which the supporters of this Society are actuated, we would put it to our readers, whether the tacit approbation of such language is compatible with that catholicity of spirit, which the Society claims for itself (p. 117), and which is necessary to the successful accomplishment of its design.

The design of the Union is to procure and circulate correct translations of the Bible "*in all languages* throughout the world." The English version of course claims their first attention; and their efforts in this direction must be regarded with special interest, now that the question has been stirred by Mr Heywood, and is likely to be discussed in Parliament. With this comprehensive design, we might have expected that their first object would have been to determine the Greek text. But not so; the textual difficulty seems to have occurred to them quite as an after-thought; they leave it to each translator to settle his own text, and interpret accordingly. The third and *last* "Rule for Translators" stands in this crude form; "Translations or revisions of the New Testament shall be made from the received Greek Text, critically edited, with known errors corrected." And among the special instructions to the



revisers of the English New Testament we find; "The common English version must be the basis of the revision; the Greek text, Bagster & Sons' 8vo. edition of 1851," i.e. substantially Stephens' third edition. But who is to decide what are known errors? And why are directions with regard to the Greek text given in a *special* rather than a general instruction?

For our own part we consider all attempts at a new translation premature, until the Greek text is settled on some firmer basis. The American Bible Union at least has reversed the natural order of things. The original words of the sacred writers should have been determined as the starting point of their labours; as it is, the same work will have to be done a hundred times over or more. The other course would probably be found a saving of time; but even if a little delay were occasioned, would the loss incurred meanwhile at all counterbalance the obvious gain? Are the Christians of England and America grossly and vitally deluded as to the mind of Holy Scripture by the authorised version? We had almost been rash enough to assert that the most important divergences of our English Bibles from the original words of sacred writers are due, not to mistranslations, but to false readings in the Greek text which they used—the same text substantially which the "Bible Union" adopts: but we were checked by remembering that the word βάπτισμα is translated "Baptism" in King James' version, when it should have been "Dipping."

From the consideration of these general defects under which the working of the Bible Union labours, we turn with more pleasure to an examination of the portion of their work submitted to us.

The text is printed in three parallel columns, the Greek standing between "King James' version" and the "Revised version," and copious notes are added at the foot of each page. The conscientious labour bestowed on this work by the anonymous translator deserves all praise. The numerous authorities cited, in many cases, we think, superfluously, are at least an evidence of his industry, though the Greek commentators, the natural exponents of the *language* of the New Testament, might have received more consideration.

Without any wish to detract from the merits of this work, we shall proceed to point out some faults in the execution.

(1) The translator should have tried, as much as possible, to preserve the same English rendering of the same Greek word. This he has frequently neglected to do. Thus 2 Pet. ii. 12, φθορὰν—φθορᾶ—καταφθάρησονται, he has rendered by three different words, "destruction"—"perish"—"corruption." Here however he can plead the authority of the authorised version. In other instances he has not even this excuse, e.g. 2 Pet. i. 12, 13, ὑπομνήσκειν—ἐν ὑπομνήσει, "remind—remembrance," where the authorised version retains the same word.

(2) The translator is inconsistent with himself. Why are we to have Core, Jude 11, but Noah, 2 Pet. ii. 5?

(3) We would suggest that a *word for word* translation is not always the best representation of the original; and independently of this, it

may be questioned whether it is advisable to substitute a bald rendering for the vigorous English of the authorised version, merely because this is slightly paraphrastic, though not faulty. The "revised version" of 2 Pet. i. 18—21, will sufficiently illustrate our meaning.

(4) The translator has not appreciated the difference of English and Greek idiom in the use of the definite article—otherwise he would not have given these renderings; "as also in all *the* epistles" (2 Pet. iii. 16), "Keep yourselves from *the* idols" (1 John v. 21).

(5) It will be impossible to discuss at length special points in which the translator seems to have erred. Two instances must suffice. The notes on *κολάζειν* and *κόλασις* (2 Pet. ii. 9, *εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως κολαζομένους τηρεῖν*; 1 John iv. 18, *ὁ φόβος κόλασιν ἔχει*) might have been dispensed with, and the passages satisfactorily explained by remembering the distinction of *κόλασις* and *τιμωρία*, and giving the former its proper sense of "restraint." Again: *δένδρα φθινοπωρινὰ ἄκαρπα* (Jude 12), despite Grotius, cannot on the analogy of *ἐαρινός*, *θερινός*, *χειμερινός*, mean anything else but "trees without fruit in autumn time;" and the language of St Jude here (*ἄκαρπα, δις ἀποθανόντα, ἐκριζωθέντα*) probably contains a reference to our Lord's parable of the barren fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6—9).

In conclusion, though we should be sorry to accept the translation as a substitute for the familiar authorised version, we gladly recommend this volume, as in many respects a useful commentary.

J. B. L.

*Agamemnon the King; a Tragedy from the Greek of Æschylus.* By WILLIAM BLEW, M.A. London: Longman, 1855, pp. xxxix. 225.

[A SUCCESSFUL translation of the *Agamemnon* is an achievement demanding so rare a combination of excellences, that the failure of all attempts hitherto in one point or more is not surprising. Still we are not sorry that another should be added to the already long list of English versions of this play, especially when undertaken with so much heartiness, and such a real love for classical studies as Mr Blew evidently has. As a stepping stone then we accept it; as an *ultimatum*, we should much prefer the attempts of some of his predecessors. Mr Blew has a rambling, but not uninteresting preface, in which he explains his views of the translator's office. In spite of his arguments and authorities, we believe that the choice of the rhyming couplet, which he has adopted for the iambs in this play, is an entire error of judgment. The occasional rhymes in Shakespeare have a special purpose, and may pass under the sanction of his great name; but it requires more than the authority of Dryden to convince us that sustained rhyme is a proper vehicle for the drama. We cannot accept Mr Blew's argument from uniformity. If the rhyme is adopted for the chorus, he argues, why should it be rejected for the dialogue? (p. xviii.) We cannot allow that the two belong to the same category.

The version itself is generally faithful to the original, and shews

a much greater appreciation of the niceties of the Greek, than is often found in translators. Mr Blew's English is not happy. He cites the following passage from Gifford with approbation. "Expressions which have been usually avoided as not *germane* to our tongue, are here hazarded for the simple purpose of bringing the poet as he wrote before the reader." But this is an understatement of his own style. His constant disregard of common English order and idiom, and the strange combinations of words he indulges in, produce an effect which is often grotesque, to use no stronger term. What are we to say to ἵππου νεοσσός, "Filly of the steed"; χαλκοῦ βαφάς, "metal-dipping mystery"; μέγα δουλείας γάγγαμον, "that huge drag-netted ring of thralldom"? These are only a few instances out of hundreds. It was surely possible to represent his author's style ἀξύστατον, στόμφακα, κρημνοποιόν, without violating the genius of the English language so rudely. Otherwise the translation is vigorous.

Half the book is taken up with notes, which consist chiefly of parallel passages, and these mostly from modern writers. Some of these are of considerable value. For instance Shakespeare's language (Henry IV. Pt. I. Act. v. Sc. 2) "a wild trick of his ancestors" is an unanswerable defence of ἔθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων (Agam. 706), instead of the emended ἥθος: others might well have been dispensed with. Mr Blew has failed to convince us (p. xxviii.), that it was worth while giving two Latin and three English translations of a passage in Dante (p. 131), which after all is not very important as an illustration of Æschylus. We have not time to discuss the critical notes, which are not numerous. We could ask Mr Blew to reconsider his translation of τριπάχχιον (Agam. 1452) "three-cubits;" for to pass over the difficulty of quantity, it is, we submit, an anachronism, to convert the great and terrible demon of the Tantalidæ (μέγαν δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν) into a creation like "Little Master" in Sintram. This is surely a Teutonic conception, and quite alien to Greek feeling.

J. B. L.

*Anecdota sacra et profana ex Oriente et Occidente allata, sive notitia codd. Græc., Arab., Syriac., Coptic., Hebraic., Æthiopic., Latin., cum excerptis &c.* Edidit Æ. F. C. TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1855, 4to. pp. 216.

[THIS beautiful volume hardly fulfils the expectations raised by its title. It contains rather accounts and specimens of unpublished writings and texts than writings and texts themselves. It is in fact an old-fashioned catalogue (like the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*) of the MSS. collected by Tischendorf in his various travels, with occasional extracts and collations, and a few miscellaneous transcripts from his notebook taken from other MS. sources. The contents of the principal biblical MSS. he has elsewhere printed *in extenso*. The more important of those lately discovered have, we are happy to say, been purchased by the Bodleian and the British Museum, and are therefore easily accessible: they have, we



believe, been already fully collated by Dr Tregelles. One of great value, containing a large part of the Acts, is here represented by its various readings. Tischendorf has been able to verify Griesbach's conjecture that his own 64 *Epp. Paul.* (containing fragments of 1, 2 *Cor.*) is part of the same MS. as Wetstein's 53 *Epp. Paul.* (fragments of *Heb.*): the whole MS., or rather all that remains of it, is now printed in full, and takes its rightful place among the few uncial MSS. of the Epistles: it is unfortunate that we possess no more of an authority which appears to us scarcely inferior to A, B, C, D, and 17. Some of the miscellaneous fragments shew strikingly how much remains to be done for the history no less than the text of the Clementine forgeries. Two fresh MSS. of the "Homilies" supply valuable new readings, and prove that even Dressel's edition (see vol. i. p. 129 of this Journal) does not contain the real end of the work, at all events in one recension. Extracts, of unquestionably Pseudo-Clementine origin, are given from the Chronicle of Georgius Hamartolus;—a curious indication of the valuable matter still waiting to be disinterred from the Byzantine rubbish-heaps. Many of the MSS., often apparently of great interest, are in oriental languages, and are therefore but too likely to be neglected.

We wish to say one word about the paper and typography. These are of the most sumptuous description, and, we must think, unreasonably so. For critical purposes Tischendorf's exquisite uncial type is hardly at all more useful than common capitals, or even minuscules, arranged in columns: it is a delusion to suppose that they take the place of good facsimiles, and the facsimiles at the end of this volume are quite insufficient. To print a book in a style which costs 28s., when it might be produced with equal advantage at 14s., may tend to the honour and glory of the Leipzig Professor, but is a culpable check on the advancement of biblical criticism. Still we cannot but wish all encouragement and success to so industrious an enthusiast in the cause of texts. His critical and other weaknesses may well be overlooked by those who are enjoying the fruits of his dusty labours.]

F. J. A. H.

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tributions to Horace, by Furtwaengler. On Cæsar, B. G. vii. 23, by Lahmeyer. On Spengel's *Kritik der Varronischen Bücher*, etc. by Thilo. On Cicero de Officiis, by R. K.—Part 9. On the critical use of the Homeric Homonymy, by Friedländer. On Hertzberg's *Alkibiades* etc. by Herbst. On Susemihl's *Genetische Entwicklung der Platon. Philosophie*, by Deuschle. On Siberti and Meiring's *Lat. Schulgrammatik*, by Krause.—Part 10. On Thiersch and Buttman's Greek Grammars, by Bäumlein. On Suckow's *Wissensch. u. Künstl. Form der Platon. Schriften*, by Susemihl. On the object of Milq's Journey to Lanuvium, by Trojel. On Halm's *Cicero pro Rabirio*, by Kayser. On the so-called Cæcilius Balbus, by Düntzer. On the *Jahrb. des Vereins v. Alterth. im Rheinlande* xx. xxi, by Klein. On Lorenz's *Consulartribunat*. by Marquardt.—Suppl. Oct. 15. On the history of the Lunar Cycles of the Greeks, by A. Boeckh.

Journal des Savants. Febr. 1855. On the formation and progress of the Third Estate. Art. i. by M. Mignet.—On the *Œuvres d'Oribase, texte grec, etc., par les docteurs Bussemaker et Daremberg*. Art. ii. and last by M. Littré. On Burnouf's *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*. Art. 8 by M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire (completed in the April No.). Notices of de Saulcy's *Recherches sur le numismatique judaïque*; Jules Girard's *Du caractère de l'atticisme dans l'éloquence de Lysias*, and *De Megarensium ingenio* (two theses for a doctor's degree); Béchard's (or Bécларd's) *Traité élémentaire de physiologie humaine comprenant les principales notions de la philologie comparée* ["M. B. a rédigé un Manuel qui deviendra classique." The book is an 8vo., pp. viii. and 988. Paris, Labé]; Strümpell's *Die Geschichte der Griechischen Philosophie zur Uebersicht, Repetition u. Orientirung bei eigenen Studien entworfen* [A work of high authority]; *Metafisica d'Aristotele volgarizzata et commentata da Ruggiero Bonghi* (libb. i.—vi. Torino, della Stamperia Reale. 8vo. pp. civ. and 450. Paris, Franck). [Undertaken at the suggestion of the abbé Rosmini. Displays acquaintance with the Greek and Arabian commentators, no less than with the schoolmen and moderns.]—March, 1855. *Tragicorum romanorum reliquæ; Ennianæ poesis reliquæ*. Art. i. by M. Patin. (Art. ii. in June No.).—*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde*. Art. i. by M. Saint-Hilaire (contin. in the Aug. No.).—*Patrum nova bibliotheca*. Art. iii. by M. Miller. Notices of Regnier's *Traité de la formation des mots dans la langue grecque, avec des notions comparatives sur la dérivation et la composition en sanscrit, en latin et dans les idiomes germaniques*, and of his *Étude sur l'idiome des Védas et les origines de la langue sanscrite*. ["En donnant aujourd'hui cet ouvrage substantiel et complet, M. Ad. Regnéer se montre un digne élève des deux Burnouf." This favourable notice of the *Traité* is followed by one no less favourable of the *Étude*.]—April, 1855. *Lex. etymol. linguarum romanarum, italicæ, hispanicæ, gallicæ, etc.*; *La langue française dans ses rapports avec le sanscrit et avec les autres langues indo-européens*; *Grammaire de la langue d'oïl*; *Guillaume d'Orange* etc.; *Altfranzösische Lieder* etc. Art. i. by M. Littré. [Arts. ii. and iii. in the May and Aug. Nos.]—Notice of *Glossulæ quatuor magistrorum super chirurgiam Rogerii et Rolandi, nunc primum ad fidem cod. Mazarinæi ed. Dr. Car. Daremberg*. Neapoli. 1854. 8vo. pp. xlv. and 228. Paris, Ballière. [M. Daremberg endeavours to prove that there was but one author, and to account for the legendary four.]—May, 1855. *Athènes au XVe, XVIe, et XVIIe siècles*. Art. i. by M. Vitet. [2nd and last Art. in July.] Notice of *Nonnos de Panopolis. Les Dionysiaques ou Bacchus, poëme en XLVIII chants rétabli, traduit et commenté par le comte de Marcellus, ancien ministre plénipotentiaire. Introduction. Paris, imprimerie et librairie de F. Didot frères*, 1855, in 18 of 265 pages. ["L'érudition sérieuse des recherches et la grâce piquante du style recommandent aux amis des lettres ce petit volume, qui contient seulement l'introduction de la nouvelle édition des Dionysiaques, publié par M. de Marcellus, pour la Bibliothèque des auteurs grecs."]; Notice of *Les sépultures chrétiennes en France, d'après les monuments du XIe au XVIe siècle, par Arthur Murcier, archiviste paléographe*. Paris, imprimerie de Delcambre, librairie de Vivès, 1855. 8vo. pp. xv. and 239.—June, 1855.



Notices of *Râmâyana*, poëme sanscrit de Vâlmiki, mis en français pour la première fois par Hippolyte Fauche. Paris, 1854, 1855. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. xxix. and 432, 392, xxxiii. and 354; Of the *Ballades and chants populaires de la Roumanie* (Principautés Danubiennes) recueillis et traduits par V. Alessandri, avec une introduction par M. A. Ubicini. Paris, imprimerie de Soye et Bouchet, librairie de Dentu, 1855. 12mo. pp. xlv. and 199, &c.—July, 1835. Notice of *The Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, or a discourse between Krishna and Arjuna on divine matters, a sanskrit philosophical poem, translated with copious notes, an introduction on sanskrit philosophy, and other matters, by J. Cockburn Thomson, member of the Asiatic Society of France, &c., Hertford, 1855. Vol. i. Engl. transl. pp. exix. and 155; vol. ii. Skr. text, pp. xii. and 92. ["Cette charmante édition...est dédiée à M. H. H. Wilson, dont M. Cockburn Thomson est un des élèves les plus distingués."]—August, 1855. *Sur les restes de l'ancienne uranographie égyptienne*. Art. de M. Biot. Notices of Alfred Maury's *Recherches sur la religion et le culte des populations primitives de la Grèce*. Paris imprimerie de Lahure, 1855. 8vo. pp. ii. and 225. [The introductory chapters of a *Histoire du polythéisme gréco-latin, depuis son origine jusqu'à son entière destruction*, &c.]

Mnemosyne. Tijdschrift voor classieke Litteratuur. Leyden, E. J. Brill. Vol. iv. 1855. pt. 2. *Variae lectiones*. Pars II. Scr. C. J. Cobet.—Emendationes in Gramm. Græc. Scr. E. Mehler.—Schol. Hom. II. Γ. 401, B. 194, Od. Δ. 309, Z. 40.—Review of Wetsel's *Disputatio antiquaria de Fetialibus*, by S. H. Rinkes.—Plut. de Aud. Poët. p. 15 D, by E. M.—Archilochium, by B. ten Brink.—Hor. S. i. 6. 4, by the same.—Grüter, Inscr. p. CMLXX, 2, and the Mosaic pavement discovered last year in Broad Street, London, by the same.—Emendatt. in Xen. Anab. Scr. S. A. Naber.—Hymn to Ares ver. 9, by S. A. N.—Vol. iv. pt. 3. *Homerica*. Scr. S. A. Naber.—Aristoph. Eqq. 601 seq., by H. van Herwerden.—Quæstt. Isocratæ. Scr. T. J. Halbertsma.—Conjectanea [Macrob. S. i. 16, Suet. Tiber. c. ult., Cic. Tusc. ii. § 27, Cic. Verr. v. § 152, Chamæl. ap. Ath. ix. p. 374 A, Hesych. s. v. Ἀὐχένιοι, Eur. Rhes. 488, Æsch. c. Tim. p. 24 med.]. Scr. T. J. H.—Var. Lect. Scr. G. C. Cobet.—Review of J. T. H. Wolter's *Commentatio Literaria in Juven. Sat. I.*, by E. Mehler.—Vol. iv. pt. 4. Var. Lect. Scr. G. C. Cobet.—Patrum Auctoritas: Lex Curiata de Imperio, by D. Terpstra.—Eurip. Hel. 670 seq. Scr. E. J. K.—A Greek Inscr. in the Leyden Museum, by L. J. F. Janssen.—Vell. Patere. i. 2. 2. Scr. E. M.—Euripidea. Scr. H. van Herwerden.—Ov. Metam. vii. 147. Scr. E. M.—Liv. ii. 42. Scr. W. N. d. R.—Pind. Fragn. 23 Böckh.

München. Gel. Anz. Vol. 40, Class i. Nos. 8—10. On Burnouf's *Le lotus de la bonne loi, traduit du Sanscrit*, and other books.—Nos. 10—12. On Wunder's *Eumeniden*, by Kayser.—Nos. 12, 13. On Rossbach and Westphal's *Metrik der Griechischen Dramatiker etc.*, by Pfaff.—No. 14. On Forchhammer's *Topographia Thebarum heptapylarum*, by Kayser.—Nos. 15, 16. On Cumanudes *Specimen emendationum in Longinum, etc.*, by L. Spengel.—Class 3. Nos. 4—6. On Mommsen's *Römische Geschichte*, by Thomas.—Nos. 6—8. On Wuttke's *Kosmographie des Istrië Aithikos*, by Kuntsmann.—Nos. 9—11. On Leo's *Des deutschen Volkes Ursprung und Werden*, by W.—Vol. 41. Class 1. Nos. 1, 2. On Fincke's *De incerti auctoris artis rhetoricæ etc.*, by Kayser.—Nos. 2, 3. On Döderlein's *Ausgewählte Reden des Demosthenes*, by L. v. Jan.—Nos. 4—6. On Spiegel's *Avesta*, the text and translation, by Windischmann.—Nos. 7—10. On Orelli's *Cicero*, vol. ii. pt. 1. New edition. Not concluded.

Reuter's Repert. f. d. theol. Litteratur. Berlin. 1855. June. On Tischendorf's *Nov. Test. Triglot.* by Düsterdieck. On Meyer's *crit.-exeg. handbh. on the Acts*, by Luthardt.—July. On Nügelbach's *The God-man, the fundam. idea of revelation, &c.* by Neumann. On Oehler's *Fundamental lines of O. T. Wisdom*, by Neumann.—Aug. On Mehring's *Catalogue of sins in Rom.*, by Düsterdieck.—Sept. On Herzfeld's *Hist. of the people of Israel*, by Neumann. On J. De Costa's *Israel and the nations*, by Neumann.

Rheinisches Museum. Vol. x.<sup>pt. 2.</sup> On the fundamental difference in the formative principle of Greek and Egyptian art, by H. Brunn.—*Conjectanea Nonniana*. Ser. H. A. Koch.—*Pervigilium Veneris, pristino nitori restitutum*. Lipsiæ, 1852. By T. Frei.—On the sixth hypothesis of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, by W. Teuffel.—*Danæ*, a vase-picture, by F. G. Welcker.—*Alemanis fragmenta de Tantalo et de sacris in summis montibus peractis*, by the same.—Remarks on Ennius, by O. Ribbeck.—On the fragments of Trogus by Jac. Bernays. [Bielowski's fr. 30 is only a bungling extract from Leonardus Aretinus.]—Latin etymologies [Vitricus, vesci, luridus, ponere], by K. Schwenck.—On *Æschylus*, by R. Enger.—On Euripides, Theocritus, Diogenes, Hesychius, Horatius, by K. Schwenck.—On Tacitus, by J. L. Aebi.—Vol. x. pt. 3. On Calderon's treatment of ancient legends, by L. Schmidt.—On the *Parodos* in *Æsch. Sept. c. Theb.*, by A. Lowinski.—Three Greek legends, by Konrad Schwenck.—A Cretan Inscription, by W. Fischer.—*Alemanis aliquot fragmenta*. Emend. F. Th. Welcker.—Contributions to the criticism and explanation of *Æschylus*, by \*\*\*; F. G. Welcker and V.—*Demeter and Themis*, by E. Gerhard.—On *Thuc. lib. viii.* by J. Brandis.—*Plauti 'Lipargus'*, by F. Ritschl.—Excursus on *Plautus*, by the same [cyenus, cucinus: lychnus, lucinus: merces, mercis, merx, mers].—*Eudoxus ap. Ath.*, by Dr Egli.—On *Strabo*, by L. Urlichs.—Inscription on a Vase, by the same.—On the letter of Mithridates to Arsaces in *Sallust*, by Hitzig.

Schneidewin's Philologus, ix. 4. On Latin Grammar, by C. F. W. Müller.—On the Thessalian Dialect, by F. W. Schneidewin.—The Athenian Pnyx, by C. Bursian.—*Lucret. ii. 672*, by F. W. Schneidewin.—Contributions to the criticism of *Plautus*, by Moriz Crain.—*Anthol. Gr. Append. n. 218, Plut. vit. Antiph. 7, Lys. pro bon. Aristoph., Liv. xxi. 27, Cæs. B. G. iii. 21 extr.*, by Dr Brandstätter.—*Sententiæ Catonis*, by Ed. Wölfflin.—On *Æsch. Persæ*, by C. Volkmar.—*Anthol. Pal. vi. 53*, by R. Rauchenstein.—An old Greek burgher oath [Inscr. found Dec. 1853, at Herakleion in Kreta].—On the dedication of hair, by Friedrich Wieseler.—On *Æschylus*, by Friedrich Wieseler.—*Platonica*, by R. B. Hirschig.—*Selectæ emendationes et observationes in Antiphonte*, by G. A. Hirschig.—On *Demosthen. 54, § 1*, by R. Rauchenstein.—On *Plautus*, by C. W. Müller.—On *Horatius and Cicero*, by Kramarczik.—On *Æl. N. A.*, by R. Hercher.—*Aristarchus' Homer*, by M. Schmidt.—*Ælian's letters*, by R. Hercher.—*Hor. Od. i. 29, 5 seq*—*Pharmaceutic inscriptions*, by F. Osann.

Theol. Quartalschrift, hrsg. von Kuhn, Hefele, Welte u. s. w. Tübingen. 1855. No. 2. On the purpose of the Acts, by Aberle. The old Roman view of *jus* with reference to the Christian Church, by Thiel. A review of Auberlen's *Daniel and the Apoc.*, by Welte.—No. 3. The theol. controversies in the Roman Ch. in the 3rd cent., by Kuhn. Apology for Syrian poetry, by Zingerle. A review of Mayer's *Genuineness of the Gosp. according to St John*, by Ott.

Theol. Studien u. Kritiken. Hamburg. 1855. No. 4. On the statue of Hippolytus, by Wieseler. On Beck's *Theophany*, by Hamberger. On J. da Costa's *Israel and the nations*, by himself.—1856. No. 1. The so-called Canon of Muratori, by Wieseler. On Kraft's *C. H. of the German peoples*, by Kling.

Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol. Gotha. 1855. No. 4. Abbot Ælfrie, by Dietrich. On the *figura Baphometi* the templar, by Redslob. The Gnosis of Colorbasus, by Volkmar. Thirteen letters of U. von Hutten, by Röhrick.—1856. No. 1. On the genuineness of the Syriac recension of the Ignat. Epp., by Lipsius (pp. 158).

Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung...hrsg. v. Dr Adalbert Kuhn.—Vol. iv. pt. 5. The suffix -ant, &c., by Ebel.—The Celtic names of the sun compared with those of the other Indo-European languages, by Adolphe Pictet.—The Greek verbs in πτ, by Max Müller.—Sibaj, jus, by Kuhn.—Nam, nâma; quisnam, ko nâma, by Kuhn.—Review of A. Holzmänn's *Kelten u. Germanen*, by Diefenbach.—*Laus*, by Ebel.—*Wuotan, Θεός*.—The Skr. root mâ, Germ. mat, by Schleicher.—'Ετεοκλῆς, Satyaçra-vas, by Kuhn.—Vol. iv. pt. 6. Gothic double consonance, by Leo Meyer.—*Bimus*,

trimus, quadrimus, by Th. Aufrecht.—Bellerophon, Vrtrahán, by Pott.—Significations of certain Latin words and forms, by Ebel.—Review of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch hrsg. v. d. kais. Akad.*.....bearb. v. Otto Böhlingh u. Rud. Roth. *St Petersburg* 1853—1855, by Kuhn.

*Zeitschrift. f. d. Alterthumswissenschaft.* v. Cæsar. May 21, 1855. On the Artists of Antiquity, by A. Nauck. On the letters of Alciphron, by A. Nauck. De comparatione periphrastica, by A. Lentz. On the 2nd vol. of Dindorf's Scholia to Sophocles, by Gustav Wolff. The latest works on the Mythology and Religion of the Greeks, by Chr. Petersen.—July 23. On the use of *μάλιστα* with numbers, by Schubart. On the fragments of Sophocles, by Bergk. Critical Miscellanies, by A. Nauck. On the march of Labienus (Cæs. B. G. vii. 57—62), by Eberz. The Mythology etc. of the Greeks—continued. Meieri Commentatio Epigraphica Secunda, by Bergk. On the reading in *Odys.* iii. 205, and on *Liv.* v. 40 and xxii. 2. On Braun's *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie*, by H. A. Müller. On Bekker's *Charikles*, 2nd ed. Anon. Examination of a proposed edition of Arrian's *Anabasis*, by Theiss.—Sept. 3. The Aurelian Gate by the Ælian Bridge and the Belisarian Gate at Rome, by Buchner. Lexicological Notices, by Fr. Latendorf. Observationes et emendationes in Alciphron, by G. A. Hirschig. De Graduum intentione, by A. Lentz. Mythology etc. of the Greeks—concluded. On Schmidt's *Didymus Chalcenterus*, by O. Schneider. Annual report on the Greek National grammarians and lexicographers, by M. Schmidt. Critical Miscellanies, by A. Nauck. On Schönborn *Ueber das Wesen Apollon's etc.* by Heffter.

### List of New Books—English.

- Adams, Rev. H. G., The Greek Text of the Gospels, with Prolegomena, Notes, and References. Pt. 2. St Mark. 8vo. pp. 108. London, Nutt. 2s. 6d.
- Æschylus. Agamemnon the King: a Tragedy, from the Greek of Æschylus. By William Blew, M.A. 8vo. pp. 226. London, Longman. 7s. 6d.
- Tragedies. Re-edited with an English Commentary, by F. A. Paley. 8vo. pp. 640. London, Bell. 18s.
- Akerman, J. Y., Remains of Pagan Saxondom. 4to. pp. 102. London, J. R. Smith. 60s.
- Alfred, King. Description of Europe and Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, &c. 4to. pp. 74, with Maps, &c. London, Longman. 63s.
- Aristotle. The Politics of Aristotle; with English Notes. By Richard Congreve, A.M. 8vo. pp. 524. London, J. W. Parker. 16s.
- Blackie, Prof. J. S., On the Advancement of Learning in Scotland: a Letter to the Right Hon. the Lord Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh, Patrons of the University. 8vo. pp. 56. (London, Simpkin.) 1s.
- Bohlen, Dr Peter von, Introduction to the Book of Genesis, &c. Edited by James Heywood, M.P. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 660. London, J. Chapman. 14s.
- Chrysostomi Homiliæ Gr. Vol. v. (Phil. Col. Thess.) Oxford, J. H. Parker. 14s.
- Cicero's Orations; with a Commentary. By George Long. Vol. ii. 8vo. pp. 510. London, Whittaker. 14s.
- Cureton, Rev. W., Spicilegium Syriacum; containing Remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose, and Mara Bar Serapion. Now first edited, with an English Translation and Notes. 8vo. London, Rivington. 9s.
- Davidson, Rev. Dr, The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. Revised from critical sources; being an Attempt to present a purer and more correct Text, &c. 8vo. pp. 238. London, Bagster. 10s. 6d.



- Davies, J. A. Pronunciation of Greek and Latin. 8vo. pp. 36. London, Bell. 1s.
- Eadie, Rev. Dr, A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. 8vo. pp. 308. London, Griffin. 10s. 6d.
- Ellicott, Rev. C. J., Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, with a Revised Translation. 8vo. pp. 160. London, J. W. Parker. 7s. 6d.
- Fairbairn, Rev. Dr, Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy: an Exposition. 2nd ed. 8vo. Edinburgh, Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Gieseler, Dr J. C. L., Compendium of Ecclesiastical History. 2nd ed. translated by Rev. J. W. Hull. Vol. v. 8vo. pp. 404. Edinburgh, Clark. 10s. 6d.
- Glossary of Yorkshire Words and Phrases, collected in Whitby and the Neighbourhood. 8vo. pp. 204. London, J. R. Smith. 3s. 6d.
- Gough, H., The New Testament Quotations collated with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, &c. 8vo. pp. 338. London, Walton. 16s.
- Hase, Dr Charles, History of the Christian Church. Translated from the seventh... German edition by Prof. C. E. Blumenthal and Rev. C. W. Wing. 8vo. pp. xxxvii. and 730. London, Trübner. 15s.
- Henderson, Rev. Dr, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. Translated from the Original Hebrew; with a Commentary... 8vo. pp. 219. (London, Hamilton.) 10s.
- Howard, Rev. Dr, The Book of Genesis according to the Version of the Seventy. Translated into English. 8vo. pp. 288. London, Bell. 8s. 6d.
- Jowett, Rev. B., The Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans; with Critical Notes and Dissertations. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 936. London, Murray. 30s.
- Justinian. The Institutes of Justinian. Translated by William Grapel. 8vo. pp. 316. London, Bell. 10s. 6d.
- Kaye, Bp, Some Account of the External Government and Discipline of the Church during the First Three Centuries. 8vo. pp. 192. London, Rivington. 5s.
- Kennedy, Rev. Dr, Palæstra Stili Latini; or Materials for Translation into Latin Prose. Selected and progressively arranged for Use in Schools and Universities. 12mo. pp. 430. London, Longman. 6s.
- Kenrick, J., Phœnicia. 8vo. pp. 492. London, Fellowes. 16s.
- Muller, Prof. Max, The Languages of the Seat of War in the East; with a Survey of the Three Families of Language—Semitic, Arian, and Turanian. 2nd ed. with Appendix. 8vo. pp. 250. London, Williams and Norgate. 5s.
- Neander, Dr A., Church History. Translated by Joseph Torrey. Vol. ix. 8vo. pp. 574. Edinburgh, Clark. 7s. 6d.
- Peile, Rev. Dr, Annotations on the Apostolical Epistles. Vol. i. (Rom. Cor. i. ii.) 2nd ed. 8vo. pp. 583. London, Rivington. 14s.
- Platonis Philebus. With Introduction and Notes, by Rev. Dr Badham. 8vo. pp. 103. London, J. W. Parker. 5s.
- Uhlemann's Syriac Grammar, Translated from the German by Enoch Hutchinson, with a Course of Exercises in Syriac Grammar, and a Chrestomathy and brief Lexicon prepared by the Translator. Edinburgh, Clark. 18s.
- Westcott, Rev. B. F., A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries. 8vo. pp. 594. Cambridge, Macmillan. 12s. 6d.
- Wheeler, J. T., The Life and Travels of Herodotus in the Fifth Century before Christ: an Imaginary Biography founded on Fact. 2 vols. 8vo. London, Longman. 21s.
- Wright, J., A Help to Latin Grammar; or the Form and Use of Words in Latin; with Progressive Exercises. 8vo. pp. 182. Cambridge, Macmillan. 4s. 6d.
- Xenophontis Expeditio Cyri. Ex recensione et cum annotationibus Ludovici Din-dorfii. Editio secunda, auctior et emendatior. Oxford, J. H. Parker. 10s. 6d.

## Foreign.

- Abel, Dr Otto, die *Legende vom heil. Johann. v. Nepomuk.* 8vo, pp. iv. and 84. Berlin, Hertz. 15 Ngr.
- Æschines' Reden. Uebersetzt u. erkl. v. Gust. Ed. Benseler. Pt. 1. Rede g. Timarchos. 12mo, pp. 168. Leipzig, W. Engelmann. 15 Ngr.
- Æschylos Agamemnon in. erläuternden Anmerkgn. hrsg. v. Rob. Enger. 8vo, pp. xxvii. and 148. Leipzig, Teubner. 12 Ngr.
- Anacreontis quæ sunt et feruntur carmina gr. versibus lat. reddita ed. C. F. A. Nobbe. 8vo, pp. xvi. and 145. Lipsiæ, Voigt and Günther. 20 Ngr.
- Anecdota sacra et profana ex Oriente et Occidente allata, seu notitia codd. græcorum, arabicorum, syriacorum, copticorum, hebraicorum, æthiopicorum, latinorum, cum excerptis multis etc. Ed. Dr Ænoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf. 4to, pp. xvi. and 218. Lipsiæ, Graul. 8 Ngr.
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- Arnold, Aug., Platon's Werke einzeln erklärt u. in ihrem Zusammenhange dargestellt. Als Einl. in das Studium des Platon u. der Philosophie. Pt. ii. 8vo, pp. xxiv. and 294. Erfurt, Villaret. 1 Thlr., 6 Ngr.
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- Asher, Dr. G. M. Disquisitionum de fontibus juris rom. historicarum fasc. i. [De vestigiis primæ editionis codicis Justiniani, quæ in nono hujus codicis libro inveniuntur, etc.] 8vo, pp. iii. and 30. Heidelbergæ, J. C. B. Mohr. 6 Ngr.
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- Baer, v., Kaspische Studien. 8vo, pp. iii. and 111. St Petersburg. (Leipzig, Voss.) 15 Ngr.
- Bartsch, Dr Karl, provenzalisches Lesebuch. Mit. e. literar. Einleitung u. e. Wörterbuche hrsg. 8vo, pp. xxii. and 242. Elberfeld, Friderichs. 1½ Thlr.
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